

GEN. HARPER'S SPEECH, TO
THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE

By

Robert Goodloe Harper

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GEN. HARPER'S SPEECH,

TO

THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE,

ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF PROMOTING A CONNEXION

Between the Ohio, at Pittsburgh,

AND THE

WATERS OF THE CHESAPEAKE, AT BALTIMORE,

BY A CANAL

THROUGH THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WITH HIS REPLY

TO

SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS

OF

MR. WINCHESTER.

DELIVERED AT A MEETING, HELD AT THE EXCHANGE,
ON THE 20TH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1823.

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GEN. HARPER'S SPEECH.

ABOUT the seventh or eighth of December, 1823, some citizens of Baltimore, of whom General Harper was one, waited on the Mayor, and requested him to call a meeting of the citizens at the Exchange, for the purpose of taking into consideration "the expediency of promoting a connexion between the Ohio and the Chesapeake, at Baltimore, by a Canal through the district of Columbia;" and of appointing a Committee to attend the Legislature for this purpose. The Mayor readily acceded to the proposal, and the meeting was called, for the thirteenth of that month. When the notice appeared, application was made to him, by other citizens, to postpone this meeting till the 20th, for the purpose of taking the Susquehannah Navigation into consideration, conjointly with the connexion between the Ohio and Chesapeake. This postponement accordingly took place, and the meeting was held at the Exchange on that day.

It was numerously and very respectably attended. The Mayor having taken the chair, observed, that as General Harper was one of the persons, who had united in requesting that a meeting for this object might be convened, he thought it proper to give that gentleman an early opportunity of explaining his views, and the reasons by which they were supported. General Harper then rose, and addressed the meeting as follows:—

In obedience, Mr. Mayor, to the call which you have done me the honour to make on me, I cheerfully rise to explain to this very respectable meeting of my fellow citizens, my opinions and views in relation to the objects which it was convened to consider, and which I deem of the highest

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importance. But for this call I should have preferred waiting, to hear what other gentlemen might wish to offer, before I presented myself to the meeting. Having, however, reflected a good deal on the subject, I am not taken wholly unprepared by the call, and I therefore am not without hopes of being able to suggest some ideas, which my fellow-citizens may find not unworthy of their attention.

But before I enter into the discussion of the great points which this subject presents, I ask the indulgence of the meeting for a few remarks, in answer to objections which I know have been circulated against myself; with a view, I presume, of diminishing the effect of any arguments which I might be able to advance, in support of the cause which I advocate. It is, I know, alleged, and I presume with this view, that I have a personal interest in promoting the Potomac Navigation, by reason of property which I hold on that river.

To this I answer, in the first place, that as I am not to decide the cause, but merely to argue it, my interest on one side or the other, and my motives for presenting the argument, are wholly unimportant. It is with my reasons that you have to deal, and not with my inducements for urging them. If they should be found worthy of consideration, they would not be the less entitled to weight, should it be ever so clearly shewn that I am induced to advance them, by motives of self-interest. It is to the merits of the case, and not to the views motives or character of the advocate, that you, as judges, ought to attend. Hear me then for my cause, which is of the highest importance to you, as well as to me; and not for my motives, which you cannot possibly know, and with which you have no concern.

I would ask, in the next place, whether admitting me to have a personal interest in this question, and which of us all has not, there is any thing in my character or history to justify a suspicion, that my conduct in relation to public measures, is guided by personal interest. This is a question which it does not become me to answer; but you can answer it, for I have lived nearly twenty-four years among you; and to your answer I fearlessly appeal. I pretend not,

and little would it become me to pretend, to more disinterestedness than others feel: but look at my public conduct, during the twenty-three years and upwards of my residence among you: look at it during that antecedent period, when, though not personally known to you, I acted a part not altogether obscure in the public affairs of this country, and must consequently have been under your observation: And when you shall have scanned this conduct during both these periods, ask your hearts the question, whether its course has been shaped by the compass of private interest, or directed by a sincere, though perhaps in many instances an erroneous conviction, of public good? Have you ever seen me changing my principles or my measures, as the tide of power or of public favour changed? Have you ever seen me abandoning those with whom I acted, when they ceased to guide the helm of state, and to dispense the honours and emoluments of office; or shifting my sails to catch the popular breeze?—If you have not, then may I claim your confidence in the integrity of my motives, and the sincerity of my opinions. This sincerity, indeed, as I apprehend, may be fairly inferred from the part which I now act. You cannot suppose me to be so ignorant or inattentive, as not to know which of the objects now under consideration, enjoys the largest share of your favour. When a man throws himself on the tide of popular opinion or feeling; when he chimes in with the public voice; there may be some room for suspicion that he thinks of himself: of his popularity, if not of his individual interest. But when he makes himself the advocate of a cause which he knows to be unpopular, he may justly claim the credit of believing it to be right. When he attempts to stem this tide, whatever may be thought of the discretion of his conduct, it ought at least to be considered as disinterested.

But my fellow-citizens, although I believe my motives to be disinterested, and hope that they will be regarded by you as patriotic, I am far from supposing myself wholly superior to that influence, which individual interest often exercises, imperceptibly, over the purest and most enlightened minds. If I had, in fact, as has been represented, a deep

personal interest in the cause of which I have become the advocate, I should distrust myself, and therefore could not think it improbable that you would distrust me. But I assure you that my personal interest, so far as relates to the two great objects now under consideration, lies the side opposite to my opinions. I have indeed an interest, and a considerable one, in both objects: but my interest in the Susquehannah is immediate, and much the largest. I hold upwards of twenty-three thousand acres of very valuable land, in the near vicinity of that river, which is now in my possession, and subject to my disposal. This land, though much less valuable than that in which I have an interest on the Potomac, is far more susceptible of an increase of value; and I have no doubt, that if the proposed canal, from the basin of Baltimore to the Conewago Falls, were completed, the value of these lands would be greatly increased, probably doubled: for although much the larger part of them, lying in the state of New-York, near to the head of Seneca Lake, now have a connexion with the city of New-York, by the Erie Canal, yet the access to Baltimore by the Susquehannah would be so much easier, cheaper, and more speedy, if the proposed canal were completed, as greatly to improve the situation of this property. That which I hold lower down the river, in the state of Pennsylvania, being more distant from the Erie Canal, is much more dependent, indeed may be said to be wholly dependent, on the Susquehannah navigation, and could not fail to be greatly increased in value, by the projected improvement.

With the Potomac, also, I am connected by interest; but the lands in which I have an interest there, although far more valuable now than those on the Susquehannah, are much less susceptible of increase in value, from any improvement in the access to market. They are, in fact, very near to market; and, in my opinion, as valuable as they can be, in the present state of our population and pursuits. No increase in their value, of any importance to me, can in my opinion be expected, till by the general establishment of manufactures, and the consequent improvements in agriculture and husbandry, the population shall be considerably augmented.

and the domestic market increased. However singular the opinion may be, and however erroneous it may be thought, I do nevertheless firmly believe, that the establishment of the proposed canal from the Ohio through the Potomac and the District of Columbia to Baltimore, great as its effect must no doubt be on the value of lands more distant, and otherwise less favourably situated, would add very little indeed to the price or the rents of the property in question.

That property, furthermore, is not now in my possession, or in any manner subject to my control. The beneficial use and disposition of it, as far as I am concerned, depends on an event which I hope is yet distant, and which according to present appearances is not to be apprehended, for a considerable time to come. This remote interest in an estate, the value of which is susceptible, in my opinion, of very little increase from the projected measure, cannot, I think, be compared with my immediate and present interest, in a far larger though much less valuable body of land, the price of which would be instantly affected by the commencement of the Susquehannah canal, and probably doubled or tripled in a few years by its completion.

But it is neither with the Susquehannah nor the Potomac that the great interests which I feel are connected. They all centre in Baltimore. I hold property here, which, though not very great, is far from being inconsiderable. It is all susceptible of increase in value, and most of it to a great extent; and no measure can influence this increase, which does not, at the same time, tend to the prosperity of Baltimore. The interests, however, which arise out of property, are light and inconsiderable, in comparison with those which bind me to this city. It is here that I have passed the longest period of my life, and that the rest of it will be spent. This is the birth place of my children; here the ashes of some of them rest; and here my own and those of their mother must one day be laid. Here is to be the home of those who survive. Of this their native community they are to be members; I hope, not without usefulness and honour. This city I chose as my residence twenty-four years ago; when retiring from public life, I had the whole United

States before me, and might have promised myself elsewhere a flattering and even perhaps a brilliant career, in the professional pursuits to which I returned. I gave the preference to this city, because I thought that with a view to its society, its situation, its increasing improvements, and all its various advantages, it held out a fairer prospect than any other place, of agreeable residence for myself, and for the family with which I might be blessed. I have not found myself mistaken; nor have I since, for a moment, repented of my choice. Judge then whether I can feel any interests, which are not believed by me to be the interests of Baltimore, or hesitate about any measure, which I might consider as calculated to advance them.

No, my fellow-citizens! it is for your interests, and not for my own, that I appear before you. If instead of striving to serve you, I courted your favour, I should flatter your feelings, and chime in with what I know to be the present sentiments of a large majority; instead of endeavouring, at the risk of incurring your disapprobation if not your displeasure, to enlighten your judgments, correct what I believe to be your errors, and assist you in forming opinions more conducive as I think to your true interests.

On one other topic permit me to say a few words, before I proceed to discuss the question about to be submitted to you. Something I know has been said, and I presume in reference to me, about covert or indirect hostility. Indeed it has been repeated in my hearing, though not addressed to me. To those who think that I feel any hostility to the great undertaking which they have at heart; or that having this hostility, I wish to conduct it in a covert or indirect manner; I would say that they understand neither my views in relation to this subject, nor my character. I feel no hostility to this undertaking, or to any other which may conduce to the good of this city, the state, or the nation. I may differ in opinion from others, about the expediency or the practicability of this that or the other measure. When two measures are proposed I may give the preference to one, as deeming it more beneficial, or more easy of accomplishment; and yet I may think very favourably and even highly

of the other. If I think the present means inadequate to the prosecution of both at the same time, I may be of opinion that we ought to direct our efforts first to that which is the easiest for us, and the most useful, postponing the other to a more fit occasion. Yet I might feel no hostility to that other: which, on the contrary, I might think highly deserving of our attention and exertions. Hostility would only be excited in my mind by a conviction of its pernicious tendency, its uselessness, or its impracticability. And if from such motives I felt hostility, I promise you that it would neither be covert nor indirect. It would be open frank and direct. It is not my way to make covert attacks; but to march directly forward, and take the enemy in front. Ambuscades, feints, and concealed approaches, do not belong to my system of tactics, in affairs of this nature; however justifiable or even necessary they may be, in another sort of warfare. I therefore beg the honourable gentlemen who entertain opinions different from mine, on the very interesting question now before you, to be assured that I feel no hostile sentiments towards their favourite measure; in which on the contrary I heartily wish them success, and shall on every fit occasion most zealously aid them.

I fear my fellow-citizens that I have been led to too great a length by these preliminary remarks, which I thought due to myself, and to the cause of which I appear as the advocate. I thank you for your indulgence, and requesting your forgiveness if I have trespassed on it too long, I proceed to lay before you, with as much brevity as the magnitude and variety of the matter will permit, my opinions on the whole subject, with the facts and reasons on which they are founded. For the sake both of conciseness and perspicuity, I have compressed the substance of these facts and reasons into a series of resolutions, which I will now present for your consideration; with such occasional explanations and remarks, as may appear necessary for a full elucidation.

First—RESOLVED, As the opinion of this meeting, that the trade of the Susquehannah river and its branches, which spread over a fertile and healthy country, abounding with

various mineral productions of great value, as well as with those of agriculture and the forest, and containing sixteen millions of acres, more than double the extent of Maryland, with an industrious enterprising and rapidly increasing free population, of more than five hundred thousand souls, upwards of one-fourth more than the whole numbers of Maryland, is an object in the highest degree interesting and important to this city, and through it to the whole state, of whose industry circulation and wealth it is the heart; and that it behoves the citizens of Baltimore to avail themselves of every fit occasion, and to employ with zeal and perseverance all available means, for facilitating and enlarging this invaluable branch of commerce, and securing it to this city, its natural emporium.

Secondly—RESOLVED, That this trade is the more valuable and important, inasmuch as it is capable of being extended by a short connecting canal to the great lakes of the north, and probably to the vast and fertile countries which are watered by the western rivers.

Thirdly—RESOLVED, That the plan recommended by the Susquehannah commissioners, in their very able and satisfactory report, for improving this trade and securing it to Baltimore, by a canal from the harbor of that city to the river of Susquehannah, above the Conewago Falls, appears to be practicable and judicious, and within the means of this state; to which its execution at a proper time, with such modifications as further experience and more perfect topographical knowledge may point out, would be most beneficial as a fruitful source of revenue, and a powerful means of promoting the commerce agriculture and general prosperity of this state.

Fourthly—RESOLVED, That even the resources of this city may by proper exertions be rendered adequate, at no distant period, to the accomplishment of this great work, should the state refuse to undertake it; and that the commerce which it would secure to the city would richly repay the expense, not merely by the commercial prosperity which it would create or foster, but by the ample revenue which its tolls would soon produce.

Thus far, I presume, no difference of opinion exists. We all concur in estimating most highly the Susquehanna trade, and the importance of improving to the utmost practicable extent, the navigation which is to secure it permanently to this city. We all believe the resources of the state, if vigorously and steadily exerted, to be adequate to the accomplishment of this great object. We all, I presume, believe, I for one certainly do, that our own resources may be rendered sufficient for this purpose; provided we use them with judgment, and are willing to submit to the necessary sacrifices and exertions. But let me warn you, my fellow-citizens, that great sacrifices and exertions, steadily and perseveringly applied, will be necessary. Resolutions voted with whatever unanimity, or by whatever loudness of acclamation, will not suffice. It is no light matter to make a canal ninety-two miles long, over a most rugged country, and across four rivers requiring aqueducts; one of which must be upwards of a mile in length, and two others a quarter of a mile each. The estimated expense of this stupendous and magnificent work, not less beneficial than grand, is something more than \$2,600,000. This is no light sum; and all our experience and knowledge in relation to estimates, especially as applied to canals the most difficult and uncertain subject of estimation, warrant the belief that it will not be sufficient. How much ought to be added it is impossible to know; but we must admit that considerable additions must be made. If we allow four hundred thousand dollars for short estimate, and take the actual cost at three millions, we shall add far less to this estimate, which is made by a very skilful and experienced engineer, and no doubt with all practicable accuracy, than experience would justify. Suppose that this sum could be borrowed by the city, as I believe it might, at five per cent.—the annual interest would amount to \$150,000, which must be raised annually by taxes, till the tolls could be brought in aid. Consequently when you resolve to undertake this work, should the state leave you as it may, though I hope it will not, to execute it yourselves, you must make up your minds to pretty severe additional taxation, for no one knows how many

years to come. Will you do this? I hope you will, when it shall appear necessary: but I do not think that it is so now.— Here the line of departure between me and the honourable gentlemen who stand opposed to me commences. They think that the Susquehannah navigation ought now to be pressed, by this city, to the exclusion of every other measure of a similar nature. I think that another measure is presented to your choice, more important, more easily attainable, in which you may expect great aid, which may be lost to you if not now zealously pursued, and to which, as your faculties are not adequate to the successful prosecution of both at the same time, the Susquehannah navigation ought for the present to be postponed.

In support of this preference my first position is, that you now enjoy the downward trade of the whole country watered by the Susquehannah and its branches, in which you can have no successful rival. Were the proposed canal in operation, the commodities which form the basis of this trade would reach you more safely and speedily, and at less expense to the owners: but without the canal, they must be borne to the head of your Bay, as they now are, by the current of the river: and there laden on board of the vessels, which transport them to your wharves. They reach you too with great safety. The Susquehannah Commissioners, as they inform us in their very interesting and able report, took much pains to ascertain the annual loss of produce, in its descent by the river to tide water. The information which they obtained, though not in their opinion entirely accurate, led them to this result: that out of produce to the value of more than one million three hundred and thirty thousand dollars, which came down in the year 1822, only about twelve thousand dollars worth, less than one per cent. was lost on the river. What navigation is attended with less risk? What voyage can be insured at a lower premium?

My next observation is, that in this descending trade, now so free from risk, and constantly improving by further experience, and the removal or diminution of obstructions, you can have no rivals, until two canals, or one of them at least, calculated to divert its course to Philadelphia, shall

be completed. The most important of them in this view, though far inferior in others, is the Pennsylvania Union Canal, intended to connect the Delaware at Philadelphia with the Susquehannah, near Middletown, a little above the Conewago Falls, by means of the Schuylkill the Swatara and their waters. This is a great work, well worthy of the liberal patronage of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which it has received. But it has yet advanced but very little, in comparison with its magnitude, and the length of time since it was commenced. Many years must still elapse, before it can be completed.*

* The Speaker was here directed by his general recollection of the progress and state of this canal, in relation to which he had not recently received any particular information. But since the Address was delivered, a Report of the Board of Managers of the canal in question has made its appearance in this city, through a Philadelphia paper. It contains the following statement:

“The Board in presenting the foregoing view of the progress of the work committed to their charge, think themselves warranted in the belief, that a Canal Navigation will be finished from Reading to Lebanon, during the summer of 1823; being a distance of thirty-seven miles, including the summit level, and overcoming in its course a fall of three hundred feet. They beg leave to add their further opinion, that the western section from Lebanon to the Susquehannah, with a fall of only two hundred and ten feet, which is of comparatively easy execution, may be completed in two years thereafter; and thus unite the waters of the Susquehannah and Schuylkill.”

From another part of the report it appears, that the route of the western section, which the Board thinks may be finished in two years from the summer of 1825, was not completely surveyed on the eighteenth of November last, the date of the Report; and when we read the detail of the work actually done on the eastern section, which they hope to finish in the course of the summer of 1825, we shall find abundant reason, in the magnitude of that which remains to do, for doubting whether this hope is well grounded.

We must also remark, that when this part of the work, from the Schuylkill at Reading to the Susquehannah at Middletown, which the Managers hope to finish in three years and a half, shall be completed, the connection between Reading and Philadelphia, through the Schuylkill, will still remain to be made, or at least to be perfected. The exact state of this work is not known. Something has been lately done on the Schuylkill, by dams and locks; and heretofore some part of a canal from the Delaware at Philadelphia, up the Schuylkill, was dug. The present state of this work which was long suspended, is not known, nor whether it has been finally

And if this canal were completed, could it divert the downward trade of the Susquehannah, from the bed of the river? This point, very important in the present discussion, I cannot but deem extremely doubtful. Many years ago, soon after the Union canal under another name was first undertaken, I passed through the country where the summit level lies. The work was conducted by Mr. Weston, an eminent engineer, who had been brought from England for the purpose. The summit level and a few locks at one end, and perhaps at both, were finished; and I well recollect it to have been a very general opinion, that the supply of water for the summit level was scanty and precarious. The work was soon afterwards suspended, through the want of funds, which this impression probably contributed in no small degree to produce. No doubt this point was well considered and investigated, before this great undertaking was resumed, under the patronage and guarantee of the state of Pennsylvania; and we must conclude that the supply of water has been satisfactorily ascertained to be sufficient, at least for the return trade; which is composed of much less bulky commodities. But still I apprehend that it must be considered as very doubtful, whether it will suffice for those cumbrous and heavy articles which compose the downward trade, and require so much larger a supply, by reason of the more frequent passage through the locks, which they render necessary.

And if the Union canal were completed, and this objection should be found not to exist, still the transportation through it to Philadelphia would be so tedious and expensive, as in all probability to secure the preference to the riv-

abandoned, and the dam navigation on the bed of the river substituted in its place. The latter, it is believed, must always be very imperfect and unsatisfactory, on such a river as the Schuylkill; whose course through an elevated and mountainous country, renders it peculiarly subject to freshets.

The distance from Reading to Philadelphia, along the river, or by a canal route, is not precisely known; but it cannot be less than fifty miles.

Hence an idea may be formed, how much remains to be done, before the Union canal can be brought to such a state, as to rival the river navigation of the Susquehannah, in the downward trade; and what time must elapse, before Baltimore can have any thing to fear in that quarter.

er navigation, in the downward trade, which now passes down the river with so much ease expedition* and safety. The whole distance is not less than one hundred miles. The lockage between the Susquehannah and Schuylkill, judging from the elevation of the country where the summit level is situated, must be very considerable,† and the expense of tolls, added to the delay in passing with commodities of such a description, must greatly overbalance the risk of one per cent. incurred in descending the river to tide water.

Thus much for the Union canal. As to the cross-cut from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, we all know that it is not begun, nor even located. If completed, as I hope it will be at no distant period, it would indeed be a great and beneficial work, highly useful to the nation in general, and I have no doubt particularly beneficial to both Baltimore and Philadelphia. But it does not appear possible that it could ever have the effect of transferring the trade of the Susquehannah, particularly the downward trade, to the latter city. To reach it from the head of the tide, at Havre-de-Grace or Port Deposit, the commodities which belong to that trade must perform three distinct voyages: first down the Chesapeake and up Elk River, to the mouth of the canal; then through the canal to the Delaware; and lastly, up the Delaware to Philadelphia. They must also undergo two transshipments: one at the entrance of the canal, in Elk river; and another at the Delaware. To the expense and delay of these operations, must be added the tolls on the canal, and the additional freight. It cannot, I apprehend, be believed, that these triple voyages and double transshipments

*The Susquehannah Commissioners state that the descent from Columbia to tide water is performed in about six hours. Columbia is about fifteen miles below Middletown, where the Union canal is to enter the Susquehannah.

†The above mentioned report states it to be five hundred and ten feet: three hundred from the Schuylkill to the summit level, and two hundred and ten from thence down to the Susquehannah. To this must be added the lockage from Reading to Philadelphia, which can hardly be less than two hundred, making in the whole seven hundred and ten feet, which at eight feet to each lock, gives eighty-eight locks to be passed between the Susquehannah and Delaware.

will ever be encountered, unless under very rare and particular circumstances, with commodities which, when once put on board of a bay-craft at Port Deposit, may proceed directly to Baltimore, in the same vessel.

Hence I think myself warranted in the conclusion, that Baltimore cannot be deprived of the downward trade of the Susquehannah, even when the two canals projected by the people of Pennsylvania shall be finished: events which are certainly not very near, perhaps not quite certain.

The return trade indeed depends upon different principles, and may be differently affected, by one at least of these undertakings. The cross-cut obviously cannot affect it: for when merchandise shall be brought through that channel into the Chesapeake, it must still, like that sent from Baltimore, ascend the Susquehannah, under all the difficulties and disadvantages to which we are subject. By the Union canal indeed, when it shall be in operation, merchandise for this trade may be sent with comparative ease and safety, from Philadelphia to the Susquehannah, above the Conewago Falls and all the principal obstructions in the river. But until that event shall take place, on the distance of which I have sufficiently dilated, the return trade must be carried on as it now is by land, as far at least as Baltimore and Philadelphia are concerned; and there we possess so decided an advantage of situation, as to put the control of this commerce completely in our power. From Baltimore to York-Haven, at the Conewago Falls, is fifty-eight miles over an excellent turnpike road. From Philadelphia by Lancaster to Columbia, over a road not so good, is seventy-four miles. From Columbia to York-Haven is ten or twelve miles by land. The distance by water is I believe somewhat greater, and serious difficulties occur in ascending the river. Thus we are nearer than Philadelphia to York-Haven, by twenty-six or twenty-eight miles; and sixteen nearer to the Susquehannah above all the principal obstructions, than Philadelphia is to that river, at a point below several of them.

What should enable her to overcome this great advantage which we possess, in the land carriage to the river? Can

she import goods from any part of the world cheaper than we can? Why should she? Her port is not so safe as ours, nor her bay and river as deep, as straight, or as free from flats and shoals. She is very little, if any, nearer to the ocean; too little to make any difference of the least importance, in the facility of getting to sea. Her river and harbour being farther north, are more obstructed by ice. Why then, I ask again, should she be able to import and sell goods cheaper than Baltimore? Is it because she possesses a larger capital? But ours, though smaller than hers, is large enough for the purpose. Will you admit that her merchants have more intelligence, activity, or liberality than you? I am sure you ought not; for I well remember the time, and I recollect it with pride and exultation, when this city advanced upwards of eight millions to the government on loan, to meet the exigencies of the late war. What is it then, I again ask, which gives Philadelphia the superiority, in the return trade of the Susquehanna: which enables her to monopolize a branch of business for which you are more favourably situated, and in your competition for which, your exclusive possession of the downward trade gives you so great an advantage? I am compelled to answer, my fellow-citizens, that it is your own supineness; your want of attention to the proper means of advancing, in this respect at least, your own interest; the erroneous principles on which you conduct the trade: and, believe me, that while you continue in the same course, the canal to which you look with so much fond expectation, would afford you no relief. The Philadelphians would send their goods through your canal, and still undersell you in the Susquehanna market, as they now undersell you, after transporting them a greater distance than you by land. You must adopt new maxims, and a new course in this trade, or else your canal, if made, would avail you nothing. With such a change in relation to the return trade, added to your exclusive possession of the downward trade, out of which the other grows, and of which I do not believe that the Union canal, if completed, would deprive you, the return trade would be as exclusively yours; until the period, you have seen how distant, when the Uni-

on canal shall be finished. Before that period can arrive; (and remember that it will not have arrived when this canal shall have merely been completed from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill, but must wait for its extension down that river from Reading to Philadelphia, fifty miles further at least;) before I say it can arrive, you may have secured the great object which I recommend to your first attention, if it can be secured at all; and may also accomplish the other, which you have so much at heart, by a vigorous application of your own means, should you resolve so to apply them, aided by those of the state if it will, as it ought, join them to yours. These means will be much enlarged, by the completion of the first object; and your conduct in cordially promoting it cannot fail to produce elsewhere a spirit, highly favourable to the attainment of state assistance, in your further operations. But should you now display a narrow and exclusive spirit, you incur the hazard of exciting a narrow and exclusive spirit in other quarters, which can hardly fail to prove most detrimental to your interests.

These are the reasons, my fellow-citizens, which have induced me to believe that the improvement of the Susquehanna navigation, important as it is in itself, is not of pressing or immediate necessity; but may be postponed for a time, not only without prejudice to your interests and prosperity, but to your very great advantage; in order to make way for another undertaking, more easily attainable, and of far greater moment. These reasons I have endeavoured to embody in the fifth resolution, to which I now request your attention.

Fifthly—RESOLVED, That the measure in question, although thus highly interesting in its character, and deserving to be steadily kept in view by the citizens of Baltimore, and the whole state, is not of pressing or immediate exigency.

1. Because the downward trade of the Susquehanna now centres in this city, and though much less safe expeditious and convenient than the projected canal, or one constructed on the same principles, would render it, is yet by far the most expeditious and convenient that exists, and so

little dangerous, that out of produce to the amount of more than one million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars, which appears by the report of the Susquehannah commissioners to have descended the river, to tide water, in 1822, not more than twelve thousand dollars, less than one per cent. was lost in the transportation.

2. Because the descending trade, which is constantly improving by greater experience, and the removal of obstructions, cannot be diverted from this city, except by the means of one or the other of two canals, or of both; one of which, the Pennsylvania Union canal, intended to connect the Delaware at Philadelphia with the Susquehannah at Middletown, by means of the Schuylkill the Swatara and their branches, is but very little advanced; and the other, the cross-cut, intended to connect the Chesapeake with the Delaware, is not commenced, nor even located: whence it is manifest that no interference with Baltimore, in the downward trade of the Susquehannah, on the part of Philadelphia the only rival market, is to be apprehended for a considerable time to come.

3. Because if the Pennsylvania Union canal were completed, of a sufficient size to admit rafts and arks, the practicability of which is very doubtful, by reason of the scanty and precarious supply of water on the summit level, still the access through it to Philadelphia, a distance of more than one hundred miles, with a great number of locks, would be so slow and expensive, as to insure a preference to the river navigation, for all those bulky commodities which constitute almost the whole mass of the downward trade, and which as experience has proved may pass down the current to tide water, at a risk of less than one per cent. of their total value.

4. Because if the cross-cut canal, between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, were completed, the passage through it from the tide water of the Chesapeake, at or near Havre-de-Grace or Port Deposit, to Philadelphia, would require a triple voyage, one down the Chesapeake and up Elk River to the canal, another through it to the Delaware, and a third up the Delaware to Philadelphia,

with two transhipments, one on entering the canal and the other at the Delaware: which in addition to the increase of distance, to the circuitous course requiring different winds, and to the expense of tolls on the canal, would render the communication greatly inferior to that with Baltimore, and could not fail, except in very particular cases of rare occurrence, to secure the preference to the latter port.

5. Because for the return trade, carried on by land, as it now is from Baltimore or Philadelphia, as far as the Susquehannah, and as it must be till the Union canal shall be finished, Baltimore is more advantageously situated than Philadelphia: it being but fifty-eight miles by an excellent turnpike from Baltimore to York Haven, on the Conewago canal, which extends above the falls of that name, and communicates with the river, where it is comparatively free from obstructions and difficulties; while from Philadelphia by Lancaster, over a road not so good, to Columbia on the Susquehannah, ten or twelve miles or more below York Haven, the distance is seventy-four miles, which makes a difference of sixteen miles in favour of Baltimore in reaching the river, and of twenty-six or twenty-eight in reaching the Conewago canal at York Haven; between which place and Columbia, moreover, some serious obstructions in the river exist.

Whence it clearly results, that as merchandise of all sorts can be imported on as good terms into Baltimore as into Philadelphia, it depends on the merchants of Baltimore themselves, to place at York Haven all the commodities wanted for the upward trade of the Susquehannah, on at least as good terms as can be done by those of Philadelphia, and to enter into a competition for it, in which their exclusive possession of the downward trade must give them very great advantages."

But, although these reasons induce me to think that the Susquehannah improvement, though highly important and interesting, is by no means of such pressing and immediate necessity as is supposed by many persons, I should still be of opinion that it ought to command your instant attention, and most strenuous exertions, were there not another un-

undertaking of a similar nature, which I deem of much greater and more urgent importance, to this city the state and the nation; and which I believe it to be in your power most materially to promote. This undertaking is a connection between Lake Erie, the Ohio, and the waters of the Chesapeake, at Baltimore, by a canal through the District of Columbia: a gigantic enterprise, to which in its whole extent the national resources only are commensurate. You, however, may give very efficacious aid, by your countenance and example: and there is a part of the work which peculiarly belongs to you, because it would connect you with the whole. However adequate your means and those of the state may be, to one or the other of these great objects, or to both of them in succession, they cannot be supposed sufficient for both at the same time. To attempt both at once would be to divide and cripple our force, so as to endanger greatly the success of both. Prudence, therefore, requires us to choose between them; not with a view of abandoning one, but merely of postponing it till the other shall be so far advanced, as to afford a fair prospect of its certain and speedy attainment. The postponed object may then be resumed, and the means of pursuing it with vigour and success will be greatly increased, by the resources derived from that which will have been already attained. Thus our efforts, being steadily directed to one object, will produce the greatest and most beneficial effects.

In considering these two undertakings, with a view to the selection of that which ought to engage our attention first, we are to enquire which is the most important, which the most attainable, and which in the greatest danger of being lost by delay. After much reflection and enquiry on these points, my firm conviction is, that in relation to all of them the connection of Lake Erie and the Ohio with the Chesapeake at Baltimore, deserves the preference.

First as to its importance. This canal would open a direct communication between Baltimore and the counties of Allegany, Washington, Frederick, and Montgomery, which lie on the Potomac, and contain a population, as appears by the last census, of seventy-nine thousand eight

hundred and two souls. A very great portion of these counties consists, as we all know, of the most fertile lands in the state; and as there is in all of them a large portion of uncultivated land, they are susceptible of a very great increase of inhabitants. Next come the numerous counties of Virginia, which lie contiguous to the same river and its branches, and contain large bodies of the best land in that state. Their population, at the taking of the last census, amounted to two hundred and six thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and is now still greater; and were this canal completed, and brought on as I propose to Baltimore, the whole commerce of this great mass of cultivators and consumers would centre here. All the counties of Pennsylvania, on the Ohio and its waters, and on Lake Erie, would be brought by this great improvement into the circle of your commerce, and the number of your customers and tributaries. These extensive regions were found by the late census to contain two hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and sixty people; and their salubrity, with the industrious and frugal habits which prevail, and the abundance of good land still unsettled, give the fullest assurance of great future increase. The state of Ohio will also be united with you, in the closest commercial connection. Its rich commerce will be poured into your lap. Reflect on its recent settlement, its rapid growth, and its present magnitude. Not long since a trackless wilderness, an almost impenetrable forest, roamed over by wild beasts hunters and savage tribes: then the theatre of bloody wars, between these savages and our frontier settlements: afterwards a feeble territory, requiring the fostering care of the national government, for its protection and preservation: admitted about twenty-five years ago into the union, with a single representative, and numbers barely sufficient for admission: What is she now? The fifth state in the union, if you look to absolute numbers; and the fourth if you regard either the number of free inhabitants, or what are called the federal numbers, which regulate the number of representatives, and consist of all the free persons with two-fifths of the slaves. Her whole population is free, and amounts to five hundred

and eighty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-four souls. This great population, so rapidly increasing, does not fill up one-third of her territory, which contains thirty-nine thousand square miles, or twenty-four millions nine hundred and sixty thousand acres; and is well known to be distinguished for its fertility. This vast territory lies wholly on the Ohio and its branches, or on Lake Erie; and by this canal would be brought into contact with your port and your wharves. The same may be said of a very large part of Kentucky: all that part which lies above the falls of the Ohio, and contains a population of two hundred and eighty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-six souls. Were the great connection made between the Ohio and the Chesapeake, by a canal terminating at Baltimore, all this part of this wealthy and fertile state would be brought nearer to you, than it is to New-Orleans. So also of the state of Indiana, whose population is one hundred and forty-seven thousand one hundred and forty-eight, in a territory little inferior in extent to Ohio, and capable of containing nearly an equal number of people. Thus by the canal which I recommend, two entire states, and very large portions of four others, which are now wholly separated from your market, or connected with it by a distant and expensive land carriage, would be brought into its neighbourhood. They contain together a population of more than one million five hundred thousand persons; three times as numerous as that connected with the waters of the Susquehannah, which is but about five hundred thousand. This great population inhabits a country at least equally fertile, equally healthy, and very far more extensive. Hence it is capable of a greater proportionate increase; which for a long series of years will continue to swell the tide of wealth, which must roll through this canal to your port.

That such would be the effect of the canal, as relates to Maryland Virginia Pennsylvania and a great part of Ohio, will not I presume be questioned. But perhaps some may doubt whether it would extend, as I suppose it would, to Indiana, the western parts of Ohio, and the section of Kentucky which lies above the falls at Louisville. Let such re-

fect on the vast difference between the markets of New-Orleans and Baltimore. In the first place, Baltimore is nearer than New-Orleans to almost the whole of Kentucky, and to every part of Indiana and Ohio. From here to Pittsburgh, by the proposed canal, would be at farthest three hundred and fifty miles. From Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, near the western extremity of Ohio, is about five hundred by the river. This would make eight hundred, or eight hundred and fifty, from Cincinnati to Baltimore, by the water communication: three hundred and fifty of which would be on the smooth surface of a canal, and the rest on a part of the Ohio less dangerous and disagreeable than its lower section, or the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio downwards. From Cincinnati to the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, the distance is about two hundred miles by the river; making the whole distance from ~~Cincinnati~~ to Baltimore, about one thousand miles. From Louisville along the river to the mouth of the Wabash, the southwestern extremity of Indiana, is about two hundred miles: which gives about twelve hundred for the distance between Baltimore and the mouth of the Wabash; where the route to Baltimore from all the settlements on that river and its waters, both in Indiana and Illinois, separates from that to New-Orleans. Compare these distances with those which separate all these countries from New-Orleans. To the latter city from Pittsburgh, by the Ohio and Mississippi, is two thousand two hundred miles; instead of three hundred and fifty to Baltimore. From Cincinnati to New-Orleans is seventeen hundred miles, instead of eight hundred and fifty to Baltimore: just double the distance. From Louisville at the Falls of Ohio to New-Orleans is fifteen hundred miles; instead of about one thousand to Baltimore: an increase of five hundred miles, or one third of the whole distance. From the mouth of the Wabash to New-Orleans is thirteen hundred miles, instead of about twelve hundred to Baltimore.

Thus we see that not only the whole states of Ohio and Indiana, and much the largest part of Kentucky, but all those parts of Illinois also which lie contiguous to the Wabash and its branches, and must rely on that river for their

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whole export and import trade, would be brought nearer to Baltimore by the measure which I recommend, than they are to New-Orleans, their only market at present. And to this great difference in distance, very great as relates to by far the largest portion of these extensive countries, and considerable as to all, must be added the advantage of a better and safer navigation. In that to Baltimore you have the smooth and still surface of a canal, for three hundred and fifty miles. The rest of the voyage is on the Ohio above the falls, or a short distance below them, a safer and much more agreeable navigation, than that of the lower Ohio and the Mississippi. These mighty rivers flow through a loose alluvial soil, covered by dense and lofty forests. Raised periodically to a great height, by the melting of the snows in the spring, on their upper waters, and the abundant rains of that season, they annually undermine and sweep away large portions of their banks. The enormous trees growing on them are borne along the stream, till their roots, being heavier than their tops, sink and become fixed in the bottom; while their branches rise towards the surface. Thus they gradually form numerous and very dangerous obstructions, both to descending and ascending vessels, especially the latter.* This danger exists in a much less degree in the upper course of the Ohio; where the mass of waters is far less, the current less violent, and the banks of a firmer texture. To this danger from obstructions must be added that of the climate, both on the lower part of the river and at New-Orleans, which is exceeding-

* Before the roots become firmly fixed in the bottom, the stems and branches alternately rise and fall, as they are pressed down by the current, and raised up again by their own bouyancy. In this state they are called "sawyers;" and frequently endanger boats by rising suddenly under them. When firmly fixed, the large branches are broken by degrees, and remaining sound under the water, are gradually converted into points, projecting down the river; so as to form a species of chevaux de frize, exceedingly dangerous to ascending boats. In this state they are called "planters." The muddiness of the water almost always prevents both planters and sawyers from being seen, till it is too late to avoid them.

ly fatal to northern constitutions. The market, too, when after this tedious and dangerous voyage they reach it, is so limited as to be easily overstocked; which produces the necessity of long delay in disposing of the cargoes, and sinks the price of the produce, by the competition among the sellers. These evils are felt in a much greater degree, by the people on the Ohio and its branches, especially in the upper part of its course, than by those on the Mississippi the St. Francis the Arkansas and the Red river. The latter rivers, especially the Mississippi, are more constantly and regularly navigable than the upper waters of the Ohio; and the settlements on them are much nearer to New-Orleans. This observation will equally apply to the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash. Hence the inhabitants of all these regions are first in the market of New-Orleans, which they pre-occupy and forestal. Those of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and part of Illinois, being thus shut out, are obliged to sell to speculators at a ruinous loss; to wait for a better market at a heavy expense, and to the imminent danger of their lives; or to leave their property in the hands of agents, at a vast distance from home, exposed to deterioration waste infidelity and failure, and burdened with the expense of storage brokerage and commissions.

And in the purchase of the return cargoes, the evils of a limited and overstocked market are perhaps still more severely felt. The eagerness of the sellers of produce to make their purchases of merchandise, as soon as their sales can be effected, so as to return home with as little delay as possible, must always produce a great competition among the purchasers, and its neverfailing concomitant an enhancement of price. The real or supposed risk attending a constant residence in that country, the real or supposed necessity of leaving it during the summer and autumn, compress business within a shorter period than elsewhere, and render greater profits necessary. This effect is increased by the expensiveness of living. On the other hand the greater distance to New-Orleans from the European ports, than to Baltimore, and greater difficulties and delay in the approach

to it from the ocean, must always tend powerfully to render trade less advantageous there than here; and add greatly to the superior benefits held out by this market.

When we take all these circumstances into view, we cannot I apprehend entertain a doubt, that were this connection between Baltimore and the Ohio established, the people on that river and its branches, as far down at least as the falls at Louisville, and most probably as the mouth of the Wabash, would prefer the navigation of the Ohio and the canal to that of the Mississippi; a journey through a healthy populous and plentiful country, to one through gloomy unwholesome and uninhabited swamps and forests; and the abundant and regular market of Baltimore, with good prices and ready sales for their produce, a large choice and cheap rates for their investments, and good health during their necessary stay, to the reverse of the whole picture at New-Orleans.

But these circumstances are not all that we must consider, in making our estimate of relative advantages for this trade. The extent and constant increase of our manufacturing establishments, and the vast abundance of water power in our neighbourhood, which enables us to carry them to the utmost limit of the demand, render this market peculiarly advantageous and desirable to an agricultural people, like those inhabiting the countries to be connected with us by the proposed canal. Such a people must always desire a market, where their raw materials may find a ready sale, to those who are to work them up, and who can consequently afford the best price for them. They must always desire a market, where a choice may be afforded both of domestic and foreign fabrics, the competition and rivalry between which must constantly tend to improve their quality, and diminish their price. Such a market is Baltimore. Second to none in her faculties for importation; superior to all in her faculties for manufacturing; her people skilful enterprising and industrious; who can doubt that she would stand unrivalled in the commerce of the west, were this avenue between her port and its vast regions once opened.

And of that part of the export trade of those countries which would centre in New-Orleans, this work, if accomplished, would secure to Baltimore the whole benefit of the returns. This effect, indeed, would extend far down the Mississippi, as settlements shall gradually be formed on its banks; to its whole course; to the rivers which flow into it, above its junction with the Ohio, and to the fertile and already populous countries on the Tennessee and the Cumberland. The advantage of floating down the streams of these mighty rivers, with bulky articles of produce, may induce the present and future cultivators in their vicinity, especially those lower down than the mouth of the Wabash, to prefer New-Orleans as their port of exportation. But for their return trade the mart of Baltimore, if opened to it by the proposed canal, would be so much more advantageous, both in price and abundance of supply, as always to secure to it the preference. We all know, and none can know better than you, how easy it is to transfer funds from New-Orleans to Baltimore: at how little risk and expense the transfer is effected. What then would be the operation? I answer that the heavy produce would be sent down the river, to New-Orleans. It would there be sold, and the proceeds remitted to Baltimore, where they would be invested in suitable return cargoes, to be sent through the proposed canal into the Ohio, and distributed by means of that river and its branches, through all the vast countries which they traverse. This course of supply would be better than that up the river, from New-Orleans, because the goods would be purchased on better terms, in an abundant and regular market: because the transportation down the rivers from Pittsburg would be cheaper and more rapid, than up them from New-Orleans; and because that part of it which would take place on the canal, though it might not be so cheap as an equal distance on the rivers, would be safer and more convenient. The great advantage, however, of this course of supply, would consist in the superiority of the market where the investments would be made, and the consequent larger choice superior quality and more favourable price of the articles. That this advantage, taken in

connection with the others which I have noticed, would be abundantly sufficient to turn the scale in favour of Baltimore, and secure to her the return trade of all the countries on the Mississippi and its waters, except those in the mere vicinity of New-Orleans, cannot I apprehend be doubted.

And even this wide range of commerce, vast as it is, makes only a part, and perhaps not the largest or the most productive part, of the field which the proposed measure would open to your enterprize. Cast your eyes on the northern lakes, those inland seas which lay open our continent to its inmost recesses, and convert so many hundred miles of its interior into sea-coast. Think of their salubrious climate, the fertile tracts which surround them, and the immense multitudes by which their shores must hereafter and at no distant period be inhabited. The improvement which I recommend would divert the whole commerce of these regions into your port, and add all these multitudes to the number of your customers. From Pittsburg the course of the Ohio is northwest for about thirty miles, to the town of Beaver. There it receives the Big Beaver creek, a stream but little inferior to the Monongahala at Pittsburg. This stream flows from the north, and interlocks with others which run south into Lake Erie. It has been ascertained by a scientific survey, made by an eminent engineer, under the authority of the state of Ohio, that the upper waters of these streams may be made to supply the summit level of a canal, descending north into Lake Erie, and south towards Pittsburg, till it meets the waters of Big Beaver; by the aid of which it may be carried on to the Ohio. From Lake Erie to this river, by the course of the canal, would be about one hundred miles: probably less. Thirty more up the Ohio, which could be safely navigated at all seasons of the year, by canal boats, would bring you to Pittsburg, where you would meet the great Union canal, ready to waft you to Baltimore, by a safe and convenient navigation of three hundred or three hundred and fifty miles. Thus four hundred and eighty miles, and perhaps four hundred, would be the whole distance between Baltimore and the entrance of the canal into Lake Erie. And this entrance, let it be remem-

bered, would be about two hundred miles west of Buffalo, at the eastern extremity of the lake, where it is entered by the great New-York canal. That canal, from Buffalo where it leaves Lake Erie, to Albany where it enters the Hudson, is three hundred and sixty-two miles long from Albany to New-York, by the Hudson the distance is about one hundred and sixty: thus giving five hundred and twenty-two miles for the whole distance, from Lake Erie at its eastern extremity, to New-York. Add two hundred miles for the distance from Buffalo, to the point where the Baltimore canal would strike the lake; and you have seven hundred and twenty-two miles, for the distance from that point to New-York. From the same point to Baltimore the distance would be four hundred and eighty miles, at most; and perhaps not more than four hundred: making a difference of two hundred and forty miles at least, between the distance from that part of Lake Erie to New-York, and to Baltimore.

From the same point on Lake Erie to Albany, by the New-York canal, is five hundred and sixty-two miles; nearly one hundred miles further than to Baltimore; and from Buffalo to New-York the distance, five hundred and twenty-two miles, is greater by forty-two miles, than that from the lake to Baltimore, taking it at the highest estimate of four hundred and eighty miles. If we suppose the distance from Baltimore to Pittsburg, by the proposed canal, to be only three hundred miles, instead of three hundred and fifty, and that from Lake Erie to the mouth of Beaver to be only ninety, which probably is near the truth, the difference between the whole distance from the place where this canal will unite with the lake, and the whole distance from Buffalo by the New-York canal to the city of New-York, will be upwards of one hundred miles in favour of Baltimore.

And this difference in distance is by no means the only advantage, perhaps not the greatest, which the proposed canal would give to Baltimore over New-York, in the commerce of the great lakes. From the port on the shores of Lake Erie where the canal would enter, the whole passage to Baltimore would be on a canal, with the exception of

about thirty miles on the Ohio, which boats suitable for the canal can pass with safety and convenience. Thus the same boat, with her cargo untouched, would pass from the shores of Lake Erie to your wharves. But in the transportation from Buffalo to New-York, by the Erie canal, a double voyage must be encountered. The boat which passes the canal cannot navigate the Hudson. She must discharge her cargo at Albany, where it must pay storage and commission, and be transhipped to New-York. The same double voyage and transhipment, with all the incident delays and expenses, must take place in the return transportation from New-York to Buffalo. But from Baltimore to Lake Erie the return cargo would pass in the same boat, unchanged and untouched. Men acquainted with commerce well know how to estimate this advantage.

And as relates to all the countries near the western end of Lake Erie, a voyage on the lake of from two to three hundred miles is to be performed, before the produce could be embarked at Buffalo, on the New-York canal, for Albany or the city of New-York. Here would be another shifting of cargo, in addition to that which must take place at Albany, and to a long and frequently a dangerous voyage on the lake. All the settlements on the western parts of Lake Erie, as well as those on every part of Lake St. Clair Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, which have a free and easy communication with Erie, and with each other, would save two hundred miles of this voyage, by stopping at the entrance of the Baltimore canal, instead of proceeding to Buffalo. All those in the neighbourhood of the entrance would save the voyage on the lake altogether.

This saving of two hundred miles in the navigation of Lake Erie, would of itself go very far towards inducing all the people of the western part of that Lake, of Detroit, and of the whole of Lake St. Clair Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, to prefer the Baltimore market to that of New-York: but when you add to it the difference in the distance from each of these markets, to the points on the lake where their respective canals would enter it; a difference, as we have seen, of forty miles, and perhaps of one hundred, in favour of

Baltimore; and take also into the account, the great advantage of a single voyage on a canal, without any stoppage or change of cargoes, over a double voyage, partly on a canal and partly on a river which canal-boats cannot navigate, with the change of cargo, transshipment, and consequent delay and expense; there cannot, I apprehend be any doubt, of the decided preference which Baltimore must obtain, in the whole trade of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, and the western end of Erie.

In short this canal, which I urge you to favour and promote, in preference to any other object, would bring Detroit two hundred and fifty miles nearer to you, perhaps three hundred, than it can be brought to New-York, your only rival in the commerce of the great lakes; and by a safer cheaper and more convenient route.

To form an adequate notion of the commerce which would thus be secured to Baltimore, you must reflect on the vast extent of these inland seas, the countries bordering on which would be rendered maritime for your benefit. To say nothing of Lake Superior, the northern shores of which lie too far north for advantageous settlement, and the southern are little known, we may state the length of Michigan at three hundred miles, and its breadth at fifty; which gives it a circumference of about seven hundred.— Thus you have seven hundred miles of coast. Lake Huron, into which Michigan discharges its waters, through a channel of safe and easy navigation, is estimated at two hundred and twenty miles long, with a mean or average breadth of ninety; which gives about six hundred and twenty for its circumference, and adds an equal extent of coast.— Lake St. Clair, through which the united waters of Michigan and Huron pour into Erie, has a circumference of about ninety miles. The connection between Erie St. Clair and Huron, like that between Huron and Michigan, is through a deep canal, without falls or rapids. Erie is about two hundred and forty miles long, with a mean breadth of about forty-five: which gives about five hundred and fifty for the extent of its coast.

Take one half of this extent, as you well may, for that part of the coast of Lake Erie, which lies nearer to the entrance of the Baltimore canal than to Buffaloe, and would feel that additional inducement for preferring the Baltimore market; and you have two hundred and seventy-five miles of coast on Lake Erie, ninety on Lake St. Clair, six hundred and twenty on Lake Huron, and seven hundred and forty on Michigan; making a total of more than seventeen hundred miles of coast,* which this communication would connect with your port, by the shortest safest and most convenient communication, which it can have with the Atlantic. Reflect on the vast tracts of fertile land, which lie contiguous to these shores; on the countless multitudes by whom they will hereafter be inhabited and cultivated; on the immense commerce to which this cultivation and the corresponding consumption must give existence; and you will then be in a condition to form some idea, faint indeed and inadequate, of the importance of the work which is now recommended to your favour and patronage.

But when to this mighty mass you add the trade of the Ohio and its branches, to say nothing of the countries watered by the Shenandoah and the Potomac, the mind is confounded by the immensity of the prospect, and even the imagination fails in the attempt to embrace it.

Some apprehensions I know have been felt, about rivalry with Baltimore in this great commerce, on the part of Georgetown Alexandria and Washington. Should the canal terminate at the tide water of the Potomac, such apprehensions might well be entertained. But my object is to bring it on to Baltimore. And they who apprehend any such rivalry, in case of its being brought on to Baltimore,

*If it should be objected that a considerable part of this territory lies on the British side of Huron St. Clair and Erie, I answer in the first place, that much the largest part is on ours; because the whole of Lake Michigan lies within our boundaries; and secondly, that the people on what is now the British side, will be brought much nearer to Baltimore by the canal in question, than they can be to any port in the British dominions, or to New-York; and will consequently be led by their interest to prefer the Baltimore market.

have not I think duly estimated, either our natural or our acquired advantages. We enjoy a much easier safer and readier access to the ocean, than the towns in the district of Columbia. The course of the Potomac, from the head of the tide downwards, is so circuitous as to require several winds, and to render the passage to or from the ocean many days longer, on an average, than that between the Capes and Baltimore. The Potomac also is much obstructed by shoals and flats. Baltimore moreover, by the advantages of her position, enjoys the whole trade of the Chesapeake; that of the fertile populous and highly cultivated counties of Pennsylvania, between the Susquehanna and the mountains; that of Frederick and Washington counties in Maryland; and the whole downward trade of the Susquehanna. These natural advantages have enabled her to leave Georgetown and Alexandria so far behind, although they commenced their career about the same time with her; to grow up under the shade of Philadelphia; and to swallow up all the towns which existed on the shores of the Chesapeake, at the time when her foundations were laid. It is to these advantages that she is indebted for a population of sixty thousand souls, with a great commercial capital, a correspondent quantity of shipping, and extensive commercial connections. Can these natural advantages be now overcome, by the small towns on the Potomac, which having parted from the goal with her or before her, have been thrown so far behind in so short a race? The apprehension appears to me to be wholly groundless, if there were nothing more in the case than I have already noticed. But there is much more. Baltimore outstripped thus rapidly and far these feeble rivals, when manufactures were unknown as a source of national wealth, or attracted but little attention and still less capital. Now they are every where understood and regarded, as the great nourisher of commerce, of agriculture, and of public prosperity. Every where attention is directed to them, as the most effectual means of promoting individual wealth, and of securing national independence. In numerous places they are assiduously and successfully cultivated, and no where more than in Baltimore and its neighbourhood; which,

as I have already had occasion to remark, stand unrivalled in the facilities which water gives, for such establishments. To you I need not enumerate the streams fit for working machinery which flow into your basin, or through the neighbourhood of your port. I need not remind you of the two branches of the Patuxent, the Patapsco, Gwin's Falls which empties into your basin, Jones' Falls which passes through your streets, Herring run, the two Gunpowders, and Winter's run: all copious and some of them powerful streams, descending from a very elevated country,* and affording numerous scites for water works, not one fourth part of which is occupied by the flour mills, to which you are indebted for so large a portion of your commerce, your wealth, and your general prosperity. But I may say that if you plant one point of a compass in the centre of Baltimore, and sweep around it a semi-circle of twenty miles' radius it will embrace a greater quantity of water power applicable to manufactures, than any other space of equal extent, of which we have any knowledge. Twenty miles is found by experience not to be too distant, from the centre of capital commerce and navigation, for the convenient and advantageous prosecution of manufactures. You all know how many extensive and flourishing establishments already exist, and are in profitable operation, within this space. You all know how many more are in progress, and considerably advanced. But perhaps you may not all have reflected on their total amount, and still less on the capacity which our water power affords for their increase. I have made no ex-

* From the Report of the Potomac Commissioners it appears, that from the junction of the two main branches of the Patapsco, at the distance of twenty-six miles from the basin of Baltimore, along a canal route, which would probably be less than twenty as a road would go, there is a fall of two hundred and seventy-four feet. The stream, at this junction, is sufficient to turn several water wheels, probably seven or eight, at the same time: and the fall, at ten feet for each set of wheels, is enough for twenty-seven sets; making in the whole, at eight wheels to the set, two hundred and sixteen wheels. The great Gunpowder is larger than the Patapsco, and descends from the same elevated country. The Patuxent is also larger, but does not rise so high. From these facts an idea may be formed, of the extent of water power which Baltimore possesses.

act calculation of this capacity; but I feel assured that I may risk the assertion, that the semi-circle of twenty miles' radius which I have described, contains water-power sufficient to put in motion from one million to twelve hundred thousand spindles, with a corresponding number of looms, and all the machinery necessary for their repair and their complete operation.* Consider how much this must add to our commercial faculties, to the wants of our consumption, to our means of purchasing, and to the abundance and cheapness of our supplies for the return trade of the west: add these to all our other advantages, which have enabled us without the aid of these to leave Georgetown and Alexandria, towns as old as us, so far behind: and you will be able to determine what ground there is for the apprehension, that the towns in the District of Columbia would rival and supplant us in the western trade, were the great canal of the west to pass by them, in proceeding to our wharves. I am so far, myself, from entertaining such an apprehension, that I feel no hesitation in declaring my firm belief, that if a canal were made from here to Georgetown, the whole export and import trade which now centres in the District of Columbia, would pass on to Baltimore; and the towns there would speedily become, and to their very great advantage too, what Annapolis Cambridge and Havre-de-Grace now are, mere retail stations for this city.

Such my fellow-citizens are the benefits held out to Baltimore, by the canal connecting us through the District of Columbia and the Potomac, with the Ohio and Lake Erie. Compare them with those of the Susquehannah trade; the better part of which, the descending trade, you now enjoy, with advantages of situation which enable you to secure the rest, for years to come, without the aid of a canal.

* The Company of the Union Factory, about eleven miles from Baltimore, on the Patapsco, by a canal or mill race of about a mile and a quarter in length, have gained a fall sufficient for two sets of wheels, one below the other; and the quantity of water is estimated to be sufficient, for eight wheels to each set. This gives sixteen wheels, each of which can put in motion five thousand spindles, with all the accompanying machinery. This makes eighty thousand spindles, upon one stream, and within the space of a mile and an half.

The Susquehannah and its waters connect you with half a million of people. The Union canal, from Baltimore to Pittsburg and Lake Erie, would connect you with a million and an half. The Susquehannah connects you with sixteen millions of acres of land. The Union canal would connect you with upwards of one hundred millions.* These vast regions are more generally fertile than the Susquehannah country, and much less encumbered with mountains. Consequently they are susceptible of a greater increase of population, in proportion to their extent. They now contain three times as many inhabitants; they are more than six times, nay more than ten times, as large; and consequently they may be expected to contain, in times to come, at least ten times the amount of population, industry and wealth, which will supply and require a commerce more than ten times as extensive.

What is there, I will not say on the Susquehannah, I will

* If we take the shores of Michigan St. Clair and Huron, with half of those of Erie, at seventeen hundred miles, and extend fifty miles back from them in every direction, we shall embrace an extent of eighty-five thousand square miles, or fifty-four millions four hundred thousand acres.

So also if we take the distance from Pittsburg to the Louisville falls of the Ohio at seven hundred miles, along the river, this gives fourteen hundred miles for the length of the two shores; and an extent of fifty miles from the river on each side, would embrace seventy thousand square miles, or forty-four millions eight hundred thousand acres.

Take in the same manner two hundred miles for the distance from the falls to the mouth of the Wabash, and one hundred and fifty for the navigable length of that river. This would give seven hundred miles for the length of the shores on each side. Deduct fifty miles on the left side of the Wabash, for the space occupied by the extension from the Ohio, and we have six hundred and fifty miles of shore; an extension of fifty miles back from which gives an area of thirty-two thousand five hundred square miles, or twenty-two million eight hundred thousand acres.

Thus, without going more than fifty miles back from the rivers or the lakes, we have an extent of one hundred and twenty millions of acres, which this canal would connect with Baltimore: fifty four millions on the Lakes; forty-four on the Ohio, above the falls; and twenty-two on that river below the falls, and on the Wabash. Twenty millions may be deducted, for the short bends in the rivers, and in the Lake shores; but a much greater number must be added, for those places more than fifty miles from the shore, which would resort to it for the sale of produce, and the purchase of supplies.

not say in the United States, but in the world, to compare with this prospect? What commercial city possesses such facilities and extent of internal communication, as this undertaking promises to Baltimore?

Such are the reasons, my fellow-citizens, which have led my mind to the conclusion, that the measure which I recommend is more important to you than the Susquehannah canal. I have expressed the substance of them as briefly as I could, in the sixth and seventh resolutions, which I now offer to your consideration.

Sixthly—RESOLVED, That while for these reasons the improvement of the Susquehannah navigation, in the manner proposed, though highly important and advantageous, does not appear to be a matter of immediate or pressing necessity, and may therefore be postponed for the present, without danger to the essential interests of this city, there is another object of a similar nature, which is more important in itself, which with proper exertions we may now expect to see accomplished, and which is in danger of being forever lost to us, unless we unite our whole strength influence and means for its attainment. This object is the union of the Ohio and Lake Erie with the Chesapeake, at Baltimore, by a canal through the District of Columbia; reserving to Baltimore and the state of Maryland the power, of making another connection with that canal, through the Patapsco and Linganore and their waters, or by any other route, should it hereafter be deemed advisable.

Seventhly—RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this meeting, this object must be considered as of greater importance than the improvement of the Susquehannah navigation, great as it undoubtedly is, for the following reasons.

1. Because such a canal from Baltimore to Pittsburg, and from thence to Lake Erie, would open a direct communication by water with all those parts of Maryland which lie on or contiguous to the Potomac, embracing the counties of Allegany Washington Frederick and Montgomery, and containing a population of seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and two souls; with all those parts of the state of

Virginia which lie contiguous to the Ohio the Potomac and their branches, and contain together a population of two hundred and six thousand six hundred and seventy-three souls; with all those parts of Pennsylvania which lie contiguous to the Ohio and Lake Erie and their waters, and contain a population of two hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and sixty; with the whole state of Ohio, the population of which amounts to five hundred and eighty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-four; with all those parts of Kentucky which lie above the falls of Ohio, and contain a population of two hundred and eighty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-six souls; and with the whole state of Indiana, the population of which amounts to one hundred and forty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-eight: making in the whole a population of one million five hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-three; three times as numerous as that which is now to be found contiguous to the Susquehannah and its branches, and inhabiting a country far more extensive, equally fertile, and consequently susceptible of a much greater increase in future.

2. Because the superior advantages of Baltimore, in its capital, commercial connections, ready access to the ocean, and great facilities for the establishment of manufactures, by means of the unrivalled abundance of water power in its neighbourhood, must always secure to it a decided preference over every mart on the Chesapeake or its waters, in the commerce of all the countries contiguous to them; provided a safe and easy access to its port be afforded, by means of canals: whence it results, that whatever commerce descending or ascending may be poured into the projected Union canal, must centre in Baltimore, if that canal be made to terminate there; without any danger of rivalry on the part of Georgetown or Alexandria, which are greatly inferior to Baltimore in natural advantages, especially in water power and facility of intercourse with the ocean; and therefore, although equal or nearly equal to her in age, are very far behind her in population wealth and commercial means of every kind.

3. Because the people of the countries on the Ohio, above the falls at Louisville, must always prefer the extensive market of Baltimore, if opened to them by the proposed canal, to that of New Orleans; not only by reason of the more advantageous price which they might expect for their produce, and the greater abundance and cheapness of the supplies for the return trade, but also of the greater healthiness of the place and the intervening countries, and of the facilities which the manufacturing establishments of Baltimore would afford them, for exchanging their raw materials for those domestic fabrics of which they would stand in need: all which circumstances furnish motives of preference for the Baltimore market, too strong to be resisted by the growing population of these fertile and extensive regions, if it were opened to them by the proposed canal.

Nor ought it to be forgotten, that to all the countries on the upper part of the Ohio and its highest branches, the market of Baltimore would be much nearer than New Orleans: the distance from Pittsburg to the latter city being two thousand two hundred miles, along the Ohio and Mississippi, while that to Baltimore along the proposed canal would not exceed three hundred or three hundred and fifty. From Cincinnati, near the southwestern extremity of Ohio, to Baltimore, the distance would be much less than that to New-Orleans; and from Shawnee-town, the lowest point of the state of Indiana on the Ohio, not much greater. From Louisville, at the falls of Ohio, by the river to New Orleans, is about fifteen hundred miles. To Baltimore, by the Ohio and the proposed canal, it would be one thousand, or one thousand and fifty. And there is no reason to doubt that in relation to the country still lower down, and consequently nearer to New-Orleans, the additional distance to Baltimore would be more than compensated, by the superior advantages of the market; especially for the return trade: the investments for which, when the country produce might be sent in preference to New-Orleans, would be made at Baltimore, by means of the funds arising from the sales at New-Orleans, and remitted from thence for that purpose.

4. Because as far as relates to the countries bordering on Lake Erie, Lake Huron, and Lake Michigan, this navigation, if extended from Pittsburg to Lake Erie, as is ascertained to be practicable by means of the Beaver Creek, and the waters of the lake which interlock with it, will afford a much readier shorter and better communication with the Atlantic ports, than can be furnished by the great New-York canal: the distance from Pittsburg to Lake Erie, by the route of the connecting canal, being about one hundred miles, which added to that from Pittsburg makes a total of four hundred or four hundred and fifty; while from Buffaloe at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie, to New York, by the Erie canal and the Hudson, is five hundred and twenty-three miles; making a difference of nearly or quite one hundred miles, in favour of Baltimore.

5. Because to this great difference of distance must be added, as relates to the western part of Lake Erie, and the whole of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, the distance between Buffaloe where the New-York canal enters Lake Erie, and the place, at least two hundred miles further west, where it would be entered by the canal from the Ohio: a difference which could not fail to give a great advantage to the Baltimore communication, and must have a powerful effect in attracting the lake trade to the Baltimore market.

6. Because to this great difference in distance, in favour of Baltimore, must be added another advantage of a different kind, and perhaps much more important; which is that the passage to Baltimore, from the port on the lake where the canal must commence, will be altogether on a canal, with the exception of a short distance on the Ohio, between the place where the connecting canal will enter it, near the mouth of Big Beaver, and Pittsburg, which can be safely and conveniently passed by the canal boats: so that the same boat will pass with its cargo untouched, from lake Erie to Baltimore: while the boat which descends the New-York canal into the Hudson, at Albany, not being capable of navigating the river, will there unlade her cargo, which must be re-shipped for New-York, with all the charges

inconvenience and delay, of storage transhipment and commissions."

The next point of enquiry, is the relative practicability of these two schemes: which of these two objects is the most attainable. This depends not upon the nature and extent of the works themselves, but upon the means on which we may rely for their accomplishment. That the connection between the Lakes the Ohio and the Chesapeake at Baltimore, or at the tide water of the Potomac, is a far greater and more expensive undertaking than the proposed canal from Baltimore, to the Susquehanna, above the Conewago Falls, is quite obvious. To say nothing of the ascent of nearly three thousand feet, from the tide water of the Chesapeake to the summit of the Allegany mountain, this canal would be three hundred and fifty miles long to Pittsburg; and nearly or quite one hundred more must be added, to connect the Ohio with Lake Erie. An undertaking so gigantic is far beyond the faculties of this city, of the state of Maryland, or of any other state with which it is immediately connected. The cost has not been, and without most careful and accurate surveys, cannot be estimated, with any thing like exactness. But we ought not to deceive ourselves on this point. We ought to accustom ourselves to consider the object in its true extent: to familiarize our minds with its magnitude, and its difficulties, as well as its benefits. We shall in my opinion deceive ourselves, if we cherish the expectation of effecting this great work, at a less expense than ten millions of dollars. It may cost that sum to complete the communication with Pittsburg, in the manner and upon the scale which its nature and objects require; and two or three millions more may be necessary, for carrying it on to Erie. I should hope however that ten millions may suffice for the whole work: and as the continuation to Erie, though a highly important part of the undertaking, is not of such immediate necessity or usefulness as the connection with the Ohio, ten millions may be considered as the utmost expenditure, to which we ought now to look. The experience of New-York does not justify a confident expectation, that

much less will be sufficient. Her western and northern canals, which do so much honour to her enterprize and discernment, and are destined so greatly to augment her wealth and power, will not when finished have cost much less than ten millions; and taken together they are inferior in difficulty, though not in length, to the proposed communication between Baltimore and Pittsburg.

Taking the expense of this communication at ten millions of dollars, we perceive that there can be no hope of effecting it, without the application of the national resources. Those of this city, of this state, and indeed of all the states which would be particularly benefitted by it, and might be expected to contribute to its expense, are wholly inadequate. But this work possesses a national character, and promises national benefits, which must sooner or later, and we may hope very soon, attract to it the resources of the nation. Here lies its advantage over the Susquehannah navigation, which possesses no national character. The countries which it would connect more conveniently, are already connected. They are all parts of Atlantic states, and now carry on their whole commerce with Atlantic ports. The sole question in relation to them is, with what Atlantic port they shall trade. This is a question of importance to those ports which contend for the trade, and to the people of these countries themselves, who may find greater advantages in trading with one port than with another; but not to the nation at large, which is equally enriched by the prosperity of Baltimore Philadelphia or New-York, and equally benefitted by a connection between either of them and the interior country. Consequently, no aid from the national government can be expected, for the Susquehannah canal; unless it should be ascertained by the surveys about to be made, as perhaps it may be, though I do not believe it will, that the Susquehannah affords the best means of connection, between the Chesapeake and the Ohio.

But it is far otherwise with the Potomac navigation.—The commercial connection which it will open does not now exist, or exists under so many inconveniences and disadvantages, as to threaten its constant diminution. It has

been greatly weakened by the introduction of steam-boats, so beneficial in other points of view. Their tendency is to concentrate more and more the trade of the whole western country, both export and import, at New-Orleans, and thus to render the line of separation between the east and the west every day deeper and broader. Nothing can so effectually counteract this disuniting tendency, as the establishment of a line of safe and convenient water communication, by which the commerce of so great and important a part of those countries would be diverted to an Atlantic port, and made to centre near the seat of the national government.

To this most interesting feature in the national character of the undertaking, must be added the facilities which it would afford the government, in providing for the general defence of the United States. The efficacy of measures having this defence for their object, must depend in a very great degree, on the facility and dispatch with which the national means, in time of war or preparation, may be concentrated at the points attacked or threatened: with which men arms artillery and munitions may be transported, from one great section of the country to another.* It is obvious how greatly this facility and dispatch must be increased, by a canal of suitable dimensions, connecting the Ohio and the lakes with the tide water of the Chesapeake. It is obvious that no single measure could conduce so powerfully, to "the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

It is by these considerations, no doubt, so intimately connected with the defence and prosperity of the United States, nay with their existence as a nation, that our enlightened chief magistrate, whose wise temperate and

* To move a body of troops on a canal, with their baggage ammunition stores and artillery, would probably cost less than the transportation of their baggage alone by land. They would reach the point of destination, especially if a distant one, in less than half the time, and would arrive fresh for action or service. The effect of these advantages, especially of the last, in the crisis of a campaign or an invasion, cannot be calculated. No estimate can reach its importance.

vigorous administration gives him so high a claim to the gratitude of his country, has been induced to recommend this great measure to the attention of congress. Happily no constitutional difficulties stand in the way. Great doubts exist of the authority of congress, to exercise jurisdiction within the states, for making roads or canals, either for military or commercial purposes: but there is none about its power merely to grant money, for any object which it may deem conducive to "the common defence and general welfare." On this point the President has officially declared, that he entertains no doubt. Let the states through whose territories the canal is to pass, grant suitable charters for incorporating companies to make it, with the usual and necessary powers, and there is no doubt about the power of congress to appropriate money, and to authorize the President to subscribe for all or any part of the shares. The government would then become the great stockholder, alone or conjointly with such states bodies corporate and individuals as might think fit to subscribe; and as a stockholder of all or by far the greater part of the stock, would have the work, as it ought, under its direction and controul. There can be no doubt of the readiness of the states to grant such charters, as the act of congress authorising the subscription and appropriating the money might require, as the condition upon which the authority should be exercised. Thus the national and state authorities would be united in an harmonious effort, to promote this great work of national and of state utility. The interest of the states would induce them to unite; so far at least as to grant the necessary acts of incorporation: perhaps as to subscribe for a part of the stock. The national interest would induce congress to make appropriations, and confer on the President the necessary powers.

Thus far of the connection of the Ohio and the Lakes, with the tide water of the Potomac. If it terminated there it would still be a national work, of a most interesting character, and would secure great benefits to those sections of country, which it would connect with the navigation of the Chesapeake. But it would present no particular advan-

tages to Baltimore. To secure to you those which I have endeavoured to pourtray, you must bring it on to your wharves; and this is the part of the work, in which you may justly be expected to give efficacious aid.

This part, however, has likewise a strong national character, which cannot fail to attract to it the attention of the national government, as an important link in the great chain of internal improvement. It connects the Potomac, the seat of government, and the western country, with Baltimore and the Chesapeake; and by means of the cross-cut with the Delaware and Philadelphia; avoiding the delays and dangers of a circuitous and tedious voyage, down the river and up the bay. To estimate properly the utility and importance of this connection, we must advert to the state of things which would be produced by war, with an enemy's fleet in the Chesapeake; from which experience has proved that nothing but a superior naval force can secure us. Such a fleet, as long as it could maintain its station in the bay, which might be during the whole war, would cut off all communication by water between these important points; and compel us, as in the late war, to resort to a most expensive and tedious land carriage, both for the transportation of produce and merchandise, and of artillery and other munitions of war. Hence the vast national advantages, of extending this canal to Baltimore. It cannot I apprehend be doubted, that they would induce congress to aid efficaciously in the extension. Still Baltimore would be expected to do her part, in consideration of the particular and very important benefits which she would derive from the work: benefits which I have already attempted to place before your eyes. Permit me to say a few words, on its practicability and probable cost.

The commissioners for ascertaining whether a water communication can be effected, between Baltimore and the projected Potomac canal, did not survey the connection through the District of Columbia, because they did not suppose it to be embraced by the terms of the resolution, under which they acted. But their surveys of other routes led to an inspection of the country, through which this must

pass; and to the taking of some very important levels in its course. These operations resulted in a conviction on their part, that a canal may be made from Baltimore to the Potomac, above the little or the great falls, as may be found most advantageous: in other words, that the great canal from Pittsburg, over the mountains and down the valley of the Potomac, may be continued on through the District of Columbia, to the basin of Baltimore. The extension, whether from the great or the little falls of the Potomac, would pass through Georgetown and Washington; and there be connected with the Potomac and the Eastern Branch.

But the practicability of this extension to Baltimore, does not rest on the opinion formed by these commissioners; which is proved by their very able report, to be worthy of the greatest respect. A general view of the country will lead all who are acquainted with it, to the same conclusion. It forms an inclined plain, sloping gently from the northwest towards the Chesapeake. Down this inclined plain flow, in a southeastern direction, the Patapsco, the two branches of the Patuxent, and the streams which fall into the eastern branch of the Potomac. The route for the connecting canal must pass southwest across the slope, and consequently will cross all these streams; which may easily be conducted into reservoirs for its supply. They descend from a higher country, and were ascertained by the commissioners to have sufficient elevation, for passing the highest ground on the route.

Of the expense of this canal I cannot speak with equal confidence. It cannot be ascertained without a detailed and accurate survey, which the commissioners had neither time nor authority to make. But their survey and estimates of another route, much more circuitous and difficult, enable us to form a very satisfactory opinion, concerning the probable expense of the measure now under consideration.

The canal surveyed and laid out by the commissioners, from Baltimore to the mouth of the Monocacy, through the Patapsco and Linganore, is eighty one miles long. It has an ascent from the mouth of the Monocacy of three hundred and thirty-nine feet, and a descent of five hundred and six-

ty. to the tide water at Baltimore: making eight hundred and ninety-nine feet of lockage. It requires a tunnel of upwards of two miles in length: a very expensive work. And yet the whole estimated cost is but about fifteen hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The canal from Baltimore to the Potomac, through the District of Columbia, would pass below the termination of the ridge, which that laid out by the commissioners passes over. They ascertained the highest ground to be two hundred feet and a quarter, above common tide; and that an abundant supply of water can be obtained at this elevation, by a feeder of five miles long. Consequently no tunnel is required. There is on the route another elevation, of one hundred and ninety-nine and an half feet, which is also well supplied with water. Whether the level could be preserved between these two summits, or it would be necessary to descend from one and again ascend to gain the other, cannot be ascertained without an accurate survey. If it can be preserved, the whole lockage would amount only to about four hundred feet; less than half of that which is necessary on the other route. If the level cannot be preserved, this lockage may be increased to about six hundred feet: for as no part of the ground between the two summits can be more than half as low as the tide, and the depression between them cannot consequently exceed one hundred feet, the descent from one and the re-ascent to the other, ought not to be estimated at more than two hundred.

The length of the connecting canal may safely be taken at fifty or fifty-five miles, instead of eighty-one; the length of that laid out by the commissioners. And if this canal of eighty-one miles in length, with very nearly nine hundred feet of lockage, and a tunnel of more than two miles, cost only about a million and an half of dollars; we may safely conclude that one of fifty or fifty-five miles, through a far less difficult country, with only six hundred feet of lockage, and perhaps only four hundred, and without any tunnel, would not cost more than a million, after making all proper allowance for short estimate.

Taking then a million as the cost of this extension to Baltimore, and supposing that she should assume the whole work herself, as her part of the great connection between her port the lakes and the western waters, you see how inconsiderable it is, compared with the benefits which she must derive from the measure, with the means in her power, and with the expense of three millions at least, which she would have to incur for the Susquehannah navigation. She might, no doubt, borrow this million at 5 per cent. This would require an annual sum of fifty thousand dollars for the interest, to be paid till the tolls on this part of the work should relieve her from the burden. But she would not be left to her own means. The national character of the work cannot fail to engage the national government, to aid in its accomplishment; and the very important benefits which it would confer on a large section of the state, would sooner or later secure to it the support of the state government likewise.— For it must be always kept in mind, that what the counties on the Potomac desire, is not merely a connection by a canal with the Chesapeake; but a connection with the extensive opulent and well supplied market of Baltimore. Consequently to render the Union canal as useful to them as it is capable of being made, it must be brought on to Baltimore; and this truth they will not be long in discerning.— You may therefore expect great aid in this part of the undertaking; but to entitle yourselves to it, to create and foster a kind and liberal spirit towards you, readiness and zeal must be displayed on your part.

And if you do not display readiness and zeal, if you do not engage heartily and vigorously in this great work, its benefits may be lost to you for ever. Depend upon it, the work will be done without you. The national interests with which it is connected are too powerful, to be long disregarded. The particular interest which six states feel in it will impel them, at no distant period, to exert all their influence in the general government in its favour, and probably to give it their direct assistance. It will be done without you, and in spite of you: but how done? Will it, without

your countenance and aid, be brought on to your port; or will it stop at the tide water of the Potomac? Be assured that assiduous persevering and powerful efforts will be made, to stop it there. The interests to be promoted by such a termination, though partial and local, are strong active and vigilant. Do you expect to counteract them by frowning on the whole undertaking, by withholding from it your support and your countenance, by treating it as a rival interest which ought to be jealously watched? If so, you deceive yourselves. Such a course of conduct will strengthen the hands of your enemies: will engender feelings and awaken prejudices most adverse to your interests. Do not estimate lightly the influence of feeling and prejudice, in affairs of this nature. Interest indeed is the most universal and powerful motive of human conduct, but passion often leads us in a course directly opposite to our interest: sometimes by blinding and misleading our reason, and sometimes by stifling its voice. Let us then so act as to enlist feeling on our side, instead of exciting it against us, and thus aiding the efforts of our rivals. By now uniting cordially in support of this great measure; by giving it not only our countenance but our zealous aid; by showing ourselves ready to do the part of it, which may reasonably be expected from us; we shall entitle ourselves to be considered and consulted, in the manner of its execution: we shall associate ourselves with the enterprize, and harmonize the general interest as well as the general feeling with our own. Thus too may we hope to obtain efficacious assistance, from the national government, in the execution of that part of the work which belongs peculiarly to us, but in which the national interests are also involved.

But if we pursue a contrary course: if we set ourselves in opposition to this great enterprize; if, without directly opposing it, we withhold from it our countenance and support; what will be the result? We shall deprive ourselves of all influence in its direction. We shall be regarded as its enemies, and it will therefore be likely to be undertaken and accomplished in a spirit of hostility to us, which active and persevering efforts will not be wanting to excite and

cherish. The work will terminate at Georgetown. The trade will take that direction. Capitalists will arrange themselves in accordance with that course of commerce.— And you need not be told how difficult it is, to change a course of commerce once settled and fixed.

These are the dangers which, as it seems to me, may result from your opposing or neglecting the enterprize which I recommend. Are you threatened with any such danger, in relation to the Susquehanna navigation? There you already have a monopoly, as far as the downward trade is concerned. The present return trade is also in your power, by reason of your greater contiguity to that part of the river, which is comparatively free from obstructions. The canal from the Susquehanna, which alone can enable Philadelphia to deprive you permanently of this return trade, is very far from being completed to the Schuylkill; and when so completed will be very imperfect and ineffectual, without one of equal length down the Schuylkill, in which still less progress has been made. In this point of view, consequently, as well as in the benefits to be expected from them, the two projects can bear no comparison with each other.

Nor is there any in their relative expenses. The Susquehanna navigation cannot cost less than three millions. The continuation of the great Union canal to Baltimore can hardly cost more than one, and probably less. This appears satisfactorily, from the comparison to which I have already called your attention, between this extension and the canal laid out by the Potomac commissioners, through the Patapsco and Linganore to the mouth of Monocacy. This million, should you resolve to take the whole expense on yourselves, might no doubt be borrowed, on the credit of the city, at five per cent. Thus it would create an annuity of fifty thousand dollars, to be paid by the city, till the tolls on this part of the canal could be brought to your aid. And I presume there can be no hazard in asserting, that when the whole work shall be finished, the tolls which would arise from this section of it, would amount to much more than fifty thousand dollars a year.

But I have already explained my reasons for believing, that you would not be left to defray yourselves the whole expense of this section. It is in itself a very important national work. Taken in connection with the western and northern communication, which it would extend to Baltimore, to the Chesapeake, ultimately to Philadelphia by means of the cross-cut, and to New-York by means of the Delaware and Rariton canal, it becomes still more interesting to the nation. The federal government may therefore be justly expected, to aid in this part of the work. But considering the great benefits which it must secure to Baltimore, we also shall be expected to do our part; and if we refuse to do it, this portion of the work will probably not be undertaken.

In the Susquehannah project the general government cannot be expected to aid; because, however important to particular commercial cities, and to some sections of country, it has no national character. This opinion however rests on the supposition, that the Potomac and Yaughiogany afford a better channel, for the great national connection between the Chesapeake and the western waters, than the Juniata and Allegany. This supposition I believe to be correct; but the surveys which the national government will no doubt order to be made, preparatory to the great work, may prove it to be erroneous, and induce that government to adopt the Susquehannah and Juniata as the medium of connection. This I do not believe will be the result, for reasons which after having so long engaged your attention, I will not stop to explain. But should it prove so, should the national government adopt the Susquehannah instead of the Potomac for this communication, all my arguments are transferred from the Potomac to the Susquehannah navigation, and apply to it with great additional force: because the two great objects which solicit your attention, the Susquehannah and the Ohio trade, would then be united, and their union would add much to the advantages of both.

And I may further observe, that if the national government should prefer the Potomac and Yaughiogany to the Susquehannah Juniata and Allegany, as the channel of this

communication, as I believe that it will; and refuse to aid you, as I believe that it will not, in extending the chain of communication to Baltimore; it then will become a matter of serious deliberation for you, whether you ought to undertake this part of the work alone. My own opinion on that point is made up; but there might be doubts, and I would not ask you to commit yourselves. It is a matter which prudence requires you to hold under consideration. And should a case occur, of which I cannot suppose that any ground of apprehension exists; should you be refused permission to make this extension, at your own expense, and for your own particular benefit; then I would say that you ought to turn your backs on the undertaking, as a project hostile to your particular interests, however useful to the nation, and to particular sections of this and other states. In that case you ought to look to the Susquehannah alone, as the ark of your safety, and to bend all your means efforts and attention, to the execution of the work proposed to you by the Susquehannah commissioners, with the utmost dispatch.

These my fellow citizens are my views, on this part of the subject under consideration. They apply to three distinct questions, each of which I have discussed perhaps at too great length: which is the most important of the two undertakings now proposed to you, which the most attainable, and which in the greatest danger of being lost by delay?—On the answer to these three questions your decision ought to depend. For the purpose of presenting to you, in a concise form, the reasons on which they seem to me to depend, I have comprised them in the remaining resolutions, which conclude with a measure proposed for your adoption, and calculated to carry the general object into effect. With these resolutions I shall conclude my address to you, requesting you to accept my thanks for the patience and attention with which you have heard me, and to pardon me for the too free use which I fear that I have made of your indulgence. My excuse must be found, in the very great importance which in my opinion belongs to the subject, and in the warm interest which I hope you will believe that I take, in the prosperity of this city.

Eighthly—RESOLVED, That the proposed measure of a connection between the western waters, the great lakes of the North, and the Chesapeake, possessing a national character of the highest importance to the United States as a nation, by its tendency to open a direct and easy communication, for commercial purposes, as well as for the transportation of troops military stores and supplies, and all the munitions of war, between the most remote sections of the union, and those now most completely separated by the difficulties of intercourse: and offering also particular benefits of very great importance, to a million and a half of people, and to six of the states; and having on these accounts already attracted the attention of the national government, and excited a strong interest in the public mind, especially in the states immediately affected: strong expectations may be entertained, of seeing it very soon undertaken on an adequate plan, and pressed to its accomplishment by the application of the national means, aided by those of the states and individuals more immediately concerned.

Ninthly—RESOLVED, That although this great national work would be less perfect and useful, were it to terminate at the tide water of the Potomac, than if extended from thence to the harbour of Baltimore, apprehensions may well be entertained that it will so terminate, unless the citizens of Baltimore by an united and vigorous exertion in its support, entitle themselves to be consulted as to the place of its termination: in which case we shall have the mortification of seeing our market shut, by our own hands, against a million and a half of people, desirous of resorting to it with the rich productions of their agriculture; and those copious streams of wealth turned elsewhere, which labor to force a way into our lap.

Tenthly—RESOLVED, That the continuation of the proposed canal from the District of Columbia, although chiefly and in the highest degree important to Baltimore, is also a national work of very great interest; inasmuch as it would constitute a link of great utility in the chain of interior communication, especially in time of war, both for commercial and military purposes; for which reason it may

be expected to be favoured and fostered by the national government, as a part of the great scheme of internal improvement, on which there are strong appearances of its being about to enter. Hence much aid in the accomplishment of this part of the work may reasonably be expected, provided Baltimore should show herself ready to do her part.

Eleventhly—RESOLVED, That the object is of such magnitude and importance to Baltimore, as not only to justify but to require the exertion of all her means, for the accomplishment of the extension to her harbour, even should she be left unassisted; provided that on a fair estimate of those means they should be found adequate.

Twelfthly—RESOLVED, That although no survey of the route of a canal from Baltimore to the District of Columbia has yet been made, and consequently no accurate or certain estimate of its cost can be formed, yet there is enough known of the distance and the nature of the country to authorize the conclusion, that such a canal might be made, and that its cost would not exceed one million of dollars: the interest of which at five per cent. at which it might no doubt be borrowed, would amount to fifty thousand dollars a year, for some years; a sum altogether inconsiderable, when compared with the object to be attained by its expenditure; much short of the revenue which may confidently be expected, from the tolls on that part of the canal when finished; and fully within the means of this city.

Thirteenthly—RESOLVED, That no apprehension ought to be entertained, of interference with Baltimore in this trade, on the part of the towns on the Potomac: because independently of her superior numbers, her commanding capital, and her extensive commercial connections, she possesses a direct communication with the ocean by means of the Chesapeake, for which one wind will suffice, while the course of the Potomac below the tide is so circuitous, as to require two or three, and is moreover far more obstructed by shoals: because Baltimore enjoys the trade of the Susquehannah, and of a very extensive and fertile country, to which she lies more conveniently than any other seaport: and because

she possesses within her near neighbourhood, a greater extent of water power, applicable to the purposes of manufacturing in all its branches, than any other place: advantages which have enabled her to leave Georgetown and Alexandria so far behind, and to rise to her present importance under the shadow of Philadelphia; and which must for ever place her beyond the danger of successful competition, by any port on the Chesapeake or its waters, in any branch of trade which is not precluded by insurmountable barriers, from entering her port: for all which reasons she may confidently expect, that should the great communication in question be perfected, and extended to her harbour by bringing on the canal from the District of Columbia, the whole of its rich commerce will be poured into her bosom.

Fourteenthly—RESOLVED, That it is therefore the true policy of Baltimore, to foster and promote the proposed canal between the Ohio and the Chesapeake, through the Potomac, by all her means and influence; provided it should be taken up by the national government, as the connection to be established between the western waters the lakes and the Atlantic, and that government will consent to aid in bringing it on, through the District of Columbia, to the tide water of the Patapsco: but that in case the national government should decline to make such a connection, or unreasonably delay it; should adopt a different channel for it; or should refuse to permit and aid in its extension to the Patapsco; it will then, notwithstanding its great importance to the nation at large, cease to be an object of particular interest to this city; all whose exertions and influence ought in that case to be directed, to the improvement of the Susquehannah navigation, by the proposed canal from the harbour of Baltimore to York Haven, at the Conewago Falls.

Therefore—RESOLVED, That a committee of — citizens be appointed to attend the legislature on the part of this meeting, and of the citizens of Baltimore, and to promote by all the means in their power the object of these resolutions.”

General Harper then moved the resolutions, which being seconded. George Winchester Esq. one of the Susquehannah commissioners presented himself to the meeting. He stated it to be his intention to present some resolutions of a different tendency, as a substitute for those offered by General Harper; but added that as it was three o'clock, and many of those present were probably fatigued by the length of the discussion, and might be in need of refreshment, he should move an adjournment till four. This motion was seconded and supported by General Harper: who expressed his hope that the best opportunity would be afforded to Mr. Winchester, for presenting his views of the subject with effect, and with convenience to himself. The motion for adjournment was then put and carried.

At four o'clock the meeting convened again, and was very fully attended. Mr. Winchester proposed a set of resolutions introduced by a preamble, which he explained and enforced at considerable length, and with much ability: commenting as he proceeded on the principles and propositions supported by General Harper. The Preamble and Resolutions follow.

“WHEREAS the legislature of Maryland, at their last session, actuated by a decided conviction of the importance and necessity of bringing into active and useful operation, the many natural advantages for internal improvement and canal navigation which this state, from its peculiar situation, possesses—did authorize the appointment of a board of commissioners, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability expediency and probable expense of a canal, to connect the waters of the Susquehannah with the city of Baltimore.

And WHEREAS the said commissioners have made and returned their report to the legislature of Maryland, now in session—presenting a full and detailed view of the subject committed to their care, and their decided opinion in favour of the practicability and expediency, together with estimates of the probable expense, of a canal from the Con-

ewago Falls, on the Susquehannah, to Baltimore—which report exhibits to the consideration of the people of Baltimore, matters of vast importance to the future welfare and prosperity of this once flourishing and powerful city. The great improvement which it contemplates—the very extensive trade which the proposed canal will lay open to this city, with the fairest portion of the United States, certainly presents a prospect which no good citizen can look upon with indifference.

The improvement of this river has always been a favourite object with the people of Baltimore, and they must feel the greatest pleasure that all doubts are now removed, as to the practicability of canalling it from a point above all the obstructions to its navigation, down to the harbour of the city—securing, beyond the reach of competition, the whole ascending and descending trade of this great river, and the country belonging to it.

And this meeting perceive with infinite satisfaction, that the contemplated improvement is not confined in its benefits to this city, but holds out considerations of the *highest political and commercial importance to the nation at large*, by uniting not only the Eastern with the *Western waters*, but also the waters of the St. Lawrence with the East, and the lakes with the Chesapeake Bay—a blessing which, if accomplished to the nation, can be produced in no other way than by means of the Susquehannah river. More than ever, therefore, should the people of Baltimore devote their undivided and exclusive attention, to the improvement of this great channel of communication with the West—the North and the East.

The spirit of internal improvement, originating in the powerful and patriotic state of New York, has rapidly spread itself over the whole Union; and the President of the United States, following out in the close of his political life, the liberal and enlightened views which have always marked his course, has in his recent message to congress called their attention to the improvement of our internal resources, as a matter of national concern—and congress will no doubt take up the subject with a corresponding spirit.

The union of the various parts of this country, by means of canal navigation, in its political and commercial results, is perhaps the most important question which ever occupied the attention of the government of the United States—and it is therefore with infinite gratification this meeting perceive, that measures are likely to be adopted to ascertain with certainty the practicability of this magnificent project. The surveys recommended by the President, and those which it appears are about to be made under the authority of the state of Pennsylvania, will afford the proper and only information upon which an accurate opinion can be formed, as to the manner and expense at which this connection can be effected—and also whether it be most practicable and economical to form this junction with the waters of the Potomac, or from those of the Susquehannah.

The grand operation of conducting a canal over the most rocky elevated and mountainous country in the Union, must be a work of much time, even supposing the opinion of the whole nation could be at once united, in favour of an instant commencement of the labour. This meeting therefore earnestly hope, that the respective local canals contemplated by the legislature of Maryland will not for one moment be lost sight of, by those most interested in their success. The salvation of Baltimore must in a great measure depend upon the Susquehannah canal, and the people should with one voice and one heart unite in the spirited and determined prosecution of a work, upon which so much depends: without permitting themselves to be diverted by the magnificence of other projects, which, however splendid, may not be commenced or finished for ages to come. The present condition of Baltimore requires aid from that quarter, which will afford the most immediate relief; and the vigorous prosecution of our own plans of improvement will be the most effectual stimulus to the general government, to commence the great national canal.

Therefore—RESOLVED, That we consider the Susquehannah canal, as reported by the commissioners, capable of being accomplished—and that in the opinion of this meeting it is entitled to and ought to receive their unanimous

and undivided support—and in thus proclaiming the determined support of our own interest, we disclaim all hostility to the projected improvements, in other portions of the state.

RESOLVED, That it would at this time be premature and improper to express any opinion, as to the means of uniting the waters of the Ohio with the Chesapeake, by either the Potomac or the Susquehannah—and that the legislature ought not to cede the sovereignty of the state over those rivers, until the surveys recommended by the President shall have been made, and full information shall be had on the subject.

RESOLVED, That our senators and representatives in congress be requested to use their exertions, to cause the said surveys to be made, by the general government.

RESOLVED, That the Mayor appoint a committee of eight persons to visit Annapolis, and consult with our delegates upon the best measures to support the Susquehannah canal."

Mr. Winchester was requested to furnish his address in support of these resolutions, for insertion into this publication: but declined, for the reasons which are stated in the subjoined correspondence.

DEAR SIR,

As my object in asking for a meeting of the citizens, on the canal from Baltimore to Pittsburg, through the District of Columbia and the Potomac, was to bring the merits of that measure as fully and fairly as possible before the public, I shall prepare my observations on it for the press, in the form of a pamphlet. That is, I shall write both my speeches in extenso, and publish them with the proceedings. Yours, if you will prepare it and permit it to be inserted, would make the view of the case much more complete, and I shall be much obliged to you if you will do so.

Yours, very respectfully,

ROBERT G. HARPER.

Baltimore, Dec. 21st, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honour to receive your note of yesterday, and agree with you that the subject discussed at the canal meeting at the Exchange, on the twentieth instant, ought to be fully and fairly put before the public.

I would cheerfully furnish my address on that occasion, to be published with yours, but the time which I devoted to the survey, and the indisposition of three months which followed it, has made such an inroad on my time and professional duties, that I am compelled to devote myself exclusively to my private affairs. I must therefore decline, for the present, furnishing a copy of my remarks at the canal meeting. I hope to be able to present my views of the questions in the shape you have exhibited yours, and will endeavour to do so as early as practicable.

I am, with sincere regard and esteem, your friend,

GEO. WINCHESTER.

Baltimore, 22d Dec. 1823.

When Mr. Winchester had concluded his address to the meeting, he moved his resolutions as a substitute for those offered by General Harper. Some doubt was expressed, as to the manner in which the question ought to be taken: whether first on General Harper's propositions, and in case of their rejection on those of Mr. Winchester; or on the latter in the first instance. General Harper declared that he thought it of no importance in what order the propositions were taken, and was perfectly willing that the question should first be proposed, on the resolutions of Mr. Winchester. The question was then stated from the chair in that manner; but the chairman remarked that General Harper might perhaps wish to reply, on which that gentleman again addressed the meeting as follows:

Had not my propositions and my arguments, fellow-citizens, been misunderstood in many important points, by my learned friend, who has recently addressed you in opposition to my views, I should not again have presented myself

to ask your attention, after having already engaged it so long. But justice to myself, and still more to the cause which I maintain, requires that I should correct the mistakes into which he has fallen. If left uncorrected they might have an important effect on your opinion, and on what I believe to be your true interest. This must be my apology for troubling you again, on a subject which has already occupied so much of your time. I hope that I shall not make an unreasonable use, of this second indulgence.

The first part of my learned friend's argument on which I feel it my duty to remark, relates to what he calls the Potomac interest. He tells you that we are engaged in a new attempt, to revive the old Potomac question; to persuade you to postpone your own interests to those of the Potomac; to sacrifice an object which peculiarly belongs to you, for the purpose of promoting another, in which you are very remotely if at all concerned. In short he rings the old and almost forgotten changes, on Potomac and Susquehanna; and seems desirous of reviving prejudices which have long slept, for the purpose of promoting a favourite project, at the expense of one which he deems less practicable or less important.

But is this in truth a Potomac interest? I deny that it is: and here lies the fallacy of my learned friend's argument, on this point. What was that Potomac interest, the shade of which he has endeavoured to evoke, for the purpose of terrifying your imaginations? What was that Susquehanna interest, which maintained so long a contest with the Potomac interest, and the dry bones of which he wishes to revivify? The Potomac interest related to two little canals, round the great and the little falls of the Potomac, and to the removal of obstructions in the beds of that river and its principal branches: without the least reference to a connection with the western waters or the lakes, which was not then even suspected to be practicable; or to a connection with Baltimore, which no body supposed to be worth the expense of making. This interest then was purely a Potomac interest; and it was to centre in Georgetown, which some of its inhabitants then vainly imagined, might be

erected into a rival market to Baltimore. At the utmost it was to extend to the District of Columbia: but whether confined to Georgetown, or extended to Washington and Alexandria, it was essentially adverse to Baltimore; of which it regarded itself, and was regarded by others, as the rival and the competitor.

Who does not see that the connection of the Potomac canal with the Ohio at one end, and with Baltimore at the other, changes the whole state of the question converts this interest into a Baltimore interest, and gives it a magnitude and importance, of which under its former shape it was wholly destitute? How are you, I ask, to convert this great interest into a Baltimore interest? How are you to lay this phantom of a Potomac interest, which is conjured up to alarm you? How are you to prevent the formation and growth of a real and substantial Potomac interest, which threatens to monopolize and swallow up by far the most important branch of internal trade, that can exist on this continent?— I answer, and truth answers, by adopting the proposition which I have submitted to you. By uniting your whole force in favour of this grand connection, with the western waters and the lakes, and thus securing its extension to your basin. Thus you will effectually subserve that Baltimore interest, to which, as far as relates to the employment of your own peculiar means, all others ought to be subordinate. I recommend nothing to your special attention, nothing which is to be effected by your separate means and efforts, but what is to subserve your peculiar interests. As Americans, as citizens of the United States, you may be justly called on to do your part, with the rest of the nation, in the accomplishment of a merely national work. As citizens of Maryland you may justly be called on, to join your fellow-citizens in efforts to promote state objects, in which you have no peculiar concern. But as Baltimoreans, in the application of Baltimore means, by efforts confined to Baltimore alone, you must confine your views to Baltimore interests. This I recommend as a Baltimore interest, and as such alone. Whenever I may have occasion to urge national or state interests on your attention, I

shall rest their claims on very different grounds, and recommend different means for their attainment. Here I call on you to foster this interest as peculiarly your own; and urge the measures by which alone, in my opinion, it can be effectually promoted and secured to you: effectually prevented from becoming an adverse and most injurious interest.

I have endeavoured to explain to you the nature of that Potomac interest, whose contests with the Susquehannah interest formerly divided and agitated the state. What was that Susquehannah interest? A short and inconsiderable canal, undertaken like the little Potomac canals by an incorporated company; which, like the Potomac canal company, constantly endeavoured to obtain assistance from the state. This work being immediately connected with Baltimore, its expected benefits to which were greatly overrated, was of course favoured and protected by the people of Baltimore, in opposition to the Potomac interest. The latter, however, as it embraced seven counties out of nineteen of which the state consists, and consequently numbered among its advoeates, twenty-eight members of the House of Delegates, out of eighty, was always the most powerful; and therefore the Potomac canals received much the largest share of public support. The feuds which arose out of these contests were gradually allayed, by the discovery that neither of the projects was very useful, because of the limited scale on which they were formed, and the unskilful and imperfect manner in which they were executed. It was also found that in spite of the Potomac canals, and with very little aid from that on the Susquehannah, Baltimore throve rapidly, and shot ahead of Georgetown and Alexandria, which remained stationary or slid backwards. This farther discovery increased the indifference which was felt, about these two rival interests. They gradually sunk into neglect, and were on the point of being forgotten, with the prejudices and feuds to which they had given rise, when it suited the purpose of my learned friend to make this effort for their revival, in order to inlist old prejudices and feelings in favour of his project.

But have you or has he reflected, on the probable consequences of reviving these prejudices? Have you or he reflected on the strength of this Potomac interest, which I wish to unite with yours, in promoting an object of vast benefit to you and the counties on the Potomac; and which he endeavours to excite against you, by raising the old cry of Susquehannah and Potomac? Have you or he considered the relative forces of these two powers, which he wishes to place in hostile array against each other, for the purpose of connecting your cause with that of the weaker party?— I believe that neither he nor you have made these reflections. I advise you to make them without delay, and seriously. I will not delate on the subject; because I do not wish to fan into a flame the latent sparks, which exist elsewhere or here. But I will say, that instead of irritating this powerful interest, and exciting it to active exertions against you, it will be most wise to ally yourselves with it, and to make its force your own; by uniting cordially in a measure which will increase ten fold the extent and utility of the Potomac navigation, and secure all its commercial benefits to yourselves.

My learned friend next objects, that I have offered no proof or explanation of the practicability of this connection, between the Potomac and the western waters; which according to him Mr. Gallatin has pronounced to be impracticable. He boldly repeats the assertion; speaks of the great elevation of the summit level, nearly three thousand feet, as an insurmountable obstacle; and declares that if the work be practicable, it will cost fourteen millions of dollars. He adds that a connection between the Chesapeake and the Okio, by means of the Susquehannah the Juniata and the Allegany, may be effected at an expense of four millions, according to an estimate founded on the surveys of the Susquehannah commissioners. And he then remarks, in a triumphant tone, that there is only the small difference of ten millions, between the expense of my plan and his. This lively sally, I observed, was received by the audience with peculiar satisfaction.

I reply in the first place, that Mr. Gallatin's report on canals, which is cited to show his belief of the impracticability of this connection, was made in the year 1808; when no surveys, nor even any particular inspection of the country, had taken place, with a view to this work.

No man knows better or estimates more highly than me, the talents and acquirements of Mr. Gallatin, or can feel greater deference for his opinion, on any matter about which he had an opportunity of being well informed. I have long known this eminent statesman, and in circumstances which led me to a very close observation of his powers and knowledge; and I claim the merit of always having done justice to his abilities and character, when his claims were not so universally admitted as they now are. But when Mr. Gallatin made the report of 1808, on canals, this connection between the waters of the Potomac and those of the Ohio, through the Yaughiogany and the Monongahala, had not been explored. The existence of a stream by means of which it might be effected, was not I believe even suspected; or if suspected was scarcely considered as worthy of investigation. Mr. Gallatin knew the elevation of the mountain in that quarter, which had been ascertained in making the surveys for the Cumberland road, under his direction. He found it to be nearly three thousand feet above the level of the sea. He knew that the most elevated canal yet executed in the world, falls short of seven hundred feet, in elevation above the sea. He might therefore well conclude, that one of three thousand feet, which had never been explored, was wholly impracticable. But since the date of his report this interesting point has been investigated, and the connection which he regarded as impracticable, has been ascertained to be within our reach. I forbore in my first address to delate on this point, because I supposed it to be well understood, through the proceedings of the late convention at Washington; and I did not wish to anticipate a work on this subject, now preparing for the press, by Mr. Shriver of Union in Pennsylvania, the very ingenious surveyor who made the surveys and levels of the country, over which the summit level of the connecting canal

must pass. But as I am so pointedly called on by my learned friend, I will enter a little into the explanation.

The first scientific view of this ground was made by the late Thomas Moore of this state, in September 1820. He was then engaged in the internal improvements of Virginia, as principal Engineer. His reputation in this department is well known. He traced the waters of the Potomac up to their nearest approach, to the summit of the dividing ridge between the eastern and western waters. It is called the little back bone mountain, and is considerably inferior in elevation to other ridges of the Allegany, both east and west of it, which are broken by the waters of the Potomac and the Yaughiogany. The highest stream of the Potomac is Crabtree Creek, a branch of Savage river, which falls into the Potomac some distance above Cumberland.— This creek rises very near to the summit of the dividing ridge. Mr. Moore found it large enough to turn a mill, three hundred and forty feet below the summit. On the west side of the ridge, and near the summit, he found the head waters of a creek called Deep creek, which rises in the country called the Green Glades, and flows west into the Yaughiogany, a branch of the Monongahala. At no great distance from the summit, this creek passes through a high ridge called “Hooppole Ridge,” at a pass called “the Hooppole Narrows.” Moore does not appear to have traced it to this pass; or to have made any very accurate observations on its volume or its fall. He seems not to have seen it below a place called the Forks, where its two principal branches unite, and below which it increases very much in size, before it reaches the Narrows.

The next view of this interesting spot was taken in the summer of 1822, by the joint commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, for surveying the route of a canal up the Potomac. They seem to have inspected Deep creek more accurately than Moore, but they do not appear to have taken any levels of its course, or of the mountain. They speak of the Hooppole Narrows; and expressly state that the stream, when they saw it in the summer of 1822, which they declare to have been the dryest season known for a long

time, was from nine to twelve feet wide, from three to our feet deep, and ran at the rate of one mile and an half in an hour.

The interest which this investigation had excited, led Mr. James Shriver formerly of Frederick county in this state, but now residing at Union in Pennsylvania, just at the foot of the Allegany mountain, there called the Laurel Hill, to visit the spot in the course of last summer, and to make a careful survey and level of Deep Creek, of the country where it rises, and of the dividing ridge. Passing through that part of the country, not long after he finished his work, I paid a visit to a gentleman who resides in the Glades, within four miles of the Hoopole Narrows. Mr. Shriver had left with him a copy of his map, on which his surveys of Deep Creek and the adjacent country were laid down.— He also gave this gentleman the result of his various levels. With this map in my hand, and accompanied by my friend, who having resided there eight or nine years was perfectly well acquainted with the country, I visited and carefully inspected Deep Creek, its principal branches, and the dividing ridge. This was in the first days of September, when the waters were very low: lower, as I was told by my friend and his neighbours, than they had been for very many years. For although there had been frequent rains during the preceding summer, they had not been very copious or of long continuance: and the streams had not recovered from the effect, of three antecedent and successive dry summers. Still I found Deep Creek a very copious stream: many times larger, I should think seven or eight times, than Jones' falls, where it unites with the tide. In this however I may mistake: for I had no means of measuring the stream, nor did I learn the results of Mr. Shriver's measurement.

That of his levels was communicated to me; and he was afterwards so good as to furnish me with a profile of the country, constructed from his surveys and levels; by which it appears that from the bed of Deep Creek, where it leaves the Glades at the Hoopole Narrows, to the summit of the dividing ridge, the elevation is one hundred and sixteen

feet; and that by a cut increasing in depth from four to thirty-five feet, and four miles long, with a tunnel through the dividing ridge of a mile and an half, you may pass from the Narrows to the eastern side of the ridge, where the level would come out, and the descent towards the waters of the Potomac would commence. Consequently a summit level may here be formed, commencing in the bed of Deep Creek at the Narrows, and passing through the dividing ridge by the tunnel. It would be five miles and an half long, in one part thirty-five feet deep, and one mile and an half of it would be a tunnel. The shape of the country below the Narrows, that is to the west of them, would permit the summit level to be extended two or three miles further in that direction; and is very favourable to the formation of an extensive reservoir, which may be supplied by three fine and constant streams, falling into Deep Creek below the Narrows. Indeed the summit level itself would be a very capacious reservoir.

This would no doubt be an expensive work, but it is perfectly practicable; and the only question is about the supply of water for the summit level, and the descending locks at each end. For this I should deem Deep Creek itself, and the three streams which fall into it below the Narrows, amply sufficient; when aided by a reservoir of proper dimensions, in which the water would be constantly collected while the locks were not in use, and reserved for filling them when wanted. A stream which is three feet deep, by nine in width, the smallest dimensions assigned to Deep Creek by the Virginia and Maryland commissioners, and which flows at the rate of a mile and an half an hour, will supply a vast quantity of water in the day and night: and if this water be constantly collected in reservoirs, and preserved for the use of the locks, it is not easy to conceive of a trade so extensive, as to require a more copious supply. But the trade will undoubtedly be most extensive, and a further supply may be necessary. Happily it is at hand. Mr. Shriver ascertained by his levels, that a branch of the Yaughiogany, the main branch indeed, which is still larger than Deep Creek, may be brought into this summit level, by a feeder of no great length, and a tunnel through another

ridge, which divides the two streams. This tunnel being only a feeder, would be much smaller and less expensive than one intended for navigation. It would no doubt be an expensive work; but in an object of this magnitude expense is a very subordinate consideration. I believe however that this expense would be unnecessary; because I feel a strong confidence in the sufficiency of Deep Creek and its waters. to afford with the aid of a reservoir an abundant supply.* Reliance must be placed on this supply. not only

* Since this discourse was delivered, a calculation has been made of the quantity of water which would be supplied in twenty-four hours by a stream nine feet wide, three feet deep, and flowing at the rate of one mile and an half in an hour. This, it will be recollected, is the velocity, and the smallest breadth and depth, assigned to Deep Creek, by the Virginia and Maryland Commissioners. They say that it is from nine to twelve feet wide, from three to four deep, and runs a mile and an half per hour. Where I saw it, a little below the Narrows, it appeared to be much wider, and not quite so deep. But their estimate is more to be relied on than mine. Taking it at nine by three, and its velocity at one mile and an half, the calculation shews that it discharges four millions four hundred and eighty-four thousand one hundred and sixty (4,484,160) cubic feet of water in twenty-four hours.

A boat of thirty tons should be fifty feet long, by twelve feet in width, and requires a lock of sixty feet in length, and thirteen feet wide. Such a lock, with a lift of ten feet, would require seven thousand seven hundred and ninety seven (7,797) cubic feet of water to fill it. Consequently it might be filled twenty-four times an hour, by a stream of the velocity and volume of Deep Creek; which would therefore supply water enough to pass twenty-four boats an hour, of thirty tons each, day and night; or five hundred and seventy-six (576) in every twenty-four hours. This would amount to seventeen thousand two hundred and eighty (17280) tons in twenty-four hours; and supposing the locks near the summit level to be impeded by ice half the year, so as to leave only one hundred and eighty-two open days, the quantity of produce or merchandise for the passage of which this stream would supply sufficient water, would be upwards of three millions one hundred thousand (3,100,000) tons annually.

But as there must be locks at each end of the summit level, two sets must be supplied, and only half this tonnage could pass. That half would be upwards of fifteen hundred thousand (1,500,000) tons annually. This would load annually five thousand ships, of three hundred tons each.

Hence it appears that a most abundant supply of water is furnished by Deep Creek; and that if a double set of locks at each end of the summit level, and throughout the whole extent of the canal, should be found necessary, as it may, one for ascending and the other for descending boats, still there would be water enough to pass seven hundred and fifty thousand tons, in the six open months.

for the summit level itself, but for the descending locks at each end; un'til further aid can be obtained from the waters of Savage river on the east, and the Yaughiogany on the west. Deep Creek is known to have but very little fall, till it approaches the Yaughiogany. Consequently there will be but few locks and little expenditure of water at the west end, before the new supply from the Yaughiogany will come in. The descent on the east to Crabtree Creek, where it is large enough to be useful, is much greater: but the same water from the summit level which supplies one lock, will supply in their turns all below it; with the aid of a small addition to make up for wastage. Such an addition Crabtree would afford, far above the point where it is large enough to supply a lock of itself. How near to the summit of the ridge its sources lie, has not as far as I know been ascertained: but as the tunnel making part of the summit level will come out, one hundred and sixteen feet below the summit of the ridge, there is little doubt that some of the head springs of Crabtree lie higher, and may be brought into the tunnel itself, or the locks immediately below it.— At the distance of three hundred and forty-one feet below the summit of the ridge, or two hundred and twenty-five below the summit level of the canal, the Crabtree, as we learn from Mr. Moore, is a copious stream. Below that point, consequently, there will be an abundance of water; and there is no reason to doubt that the supply above it will be most ample, from the summit level itself, aided by the highest springs of the Crabtree.

Thus it appears that the supply of water will be every where abundant; and this establishes the practicability of the undertaking: for where there is water enough at the greatest elevation, a canal which requires nothing but water, may always be made. The rest is a mere question of expense, to be decided by a comparison between the means which exist for the accomplishment of the work, and its benefits when accomplished: in other words, between the cost of the acquisition and its value. There is indeed an antecedent question, whether adequate means do exist. I have already had occasion to express my opinion, that they

exist only in the national resources; which I believe will be called forth for the accomplishment of this great object. I have as little doubt, indeed far less, on the question of its benefits compared with its cost. The latter would be to the nation an object of no serious importance. Its pressure, distributed through the number of years necessary for performing the work, would not be felt. The former would be incalculable, as relates to the public wealth, the public safety, and our existence as an united nation.

I have already had occasion to state my opinion, or rather my conjecture, for it can be little more than conjecture, about the cost of this great work: which I suppose would not exceed ten millions of dollars. My learned friend, on I know not what grounds, estimates it four millions higher. My conjecture is founded not only on the actual expense, thus far, of the New-York canals; but on the estimates made by the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, for surveying the Potomac from tide water to Cumberland; a distance which they found to be one hundred and eighty-five miles, on the canal route. The expense they estimated at something less than one million five hundred and eighty thousand dollars. This one hundred and eighty-five miles is more than half of the distance, as a canal must run, from near Georgetown to Pittsburg; and there is no reason to suppose that the other part would be much more expensive. Supposing it, however, to cost twice as much, on account of the tunnel, the deep cutting on the summit level, the great number of locks, and the difficulties in descending the Yaughiogany, still the whole expense of such a canal, from the tide water near Georgetown to Pittsburg, would be only six millions three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Let us call it seven millions, so as to make full allowance for incidental expenses, and short estimate. The canal to which the estimates of the commissioners are applied, is thirty feet wide at the top, twenty at the bottom, and three deep. This is probably too small. Let it be forty feet wide at the top, thirty at the bottom, and four deep; and add one fourth to the expense, on account of this increase in its dimensions. It would then cost something

less than nine millions. from Pittsburg to Georgetown; and I have already attempted to shew that one million will suffice. for the extension to Baltimore.

Such are the grounds of my conjecture, in relation to the cost of this work. Till I am informed of those on which the conjecture of my honourable friend rests, I must believe that my own comes nearer to the truth. I might indeed contend, with much ground of probability at least. that the expense would fall considerably short of my estimate: but I wish to present the object in all its magnitude, and to familiarize your minds with the sacrifices and exertions which it will require, as well as the benefits which it is calculated to bestow.

My learned friend next insists, that a better and cheaper communication between the Chesapeake and the Ohio may be effected, through the Susquehannah the Juniata and the Allegany, than the Potomac and the Yaughiogany can supply. He tells us, as the Susquehannah commissioners of whom he is one have told us in their report, that the Juniata affords the means of two such communications: one through the Raystown branch, and Dummings Creek, which pass near Bedford, and interlock with the waters of the Connemaugh, a branch of the Allegany; and the other through the Frankstown branch, which also interlocks with the waters of the Connemaugh. Both these branches of the Juniata, he informs us, as well as the main river itself, are practicable for boats so high up, that a very short canal would unite either of them, especially the latter, with the waters of the Allegany, and through that river with the Ohio. For these details a report made in the year 1792, to the legislature of Pennsylvania, by two commissioners who had been appointed to view the waters in question, is cited and relied on: and the learned gentleman supposes, that to effect this communication between the Juniata and the Allegany, would cost about one million four hundred thousand dollars. This sum, added to two millions six hundred thousand, the estimated cost of the canal from Baltimore to the Conewago Falls, makes up the four millions which

he so triumphantly contrasts with the fourteen millions, assumed by him as the expense of connecting the Ohio with the Chesapeake, through the Potomac.

On this part of the case I would remark, in the first place, that nothing is less certain than the practicability of connecting the Juniata with the Allegany, by a navigable canal. The ground has never been levelled, nor the streams on which reliance is placed. They may have been traced to their sources, on each side of the dividing ridge; and the distance between those on the opposite sides, at points where they are supposed to be navigable, may have been measured: but this would not show the height of the dividing ridge, nor how near to its summit sufficient water for the supply of locks could be found. We hear of no extensive meadows, on the top of the mountains in that quarter, like the glades in Maryland, which might give rise to copious streams, at a great elevation. We hear of no such streams. The Pennsylvania commissioners of 1792, Mr. William Findley and Dr. Smith, on whose report reliance is placed, were not engineers. It does not appear that they took an engineer with them. It does appear that they made no levels; for they state in their report that they could not ascertain with exactness the descent in Dunning's Creek, one of the branches of the Juniata, for want of a level. Consequently they could give no information of the least value, in relation to the practicability of a canal over the mountain, to connect the Juniata with the Allegany; nor is there any reason whatever for believing that water can be found, sufficient to supply the summit level of such a canal. Such a supply may exist. If so the fact will no doubt be satisfactorily ascertained, by the surveys which the national government will think it proper to order, before it enters on the great enterprise, of uniting the western waters and the lakes with the Chesapeake. Every route, which offers a reasonable prospect of success, ought to be explored. No doubt they will be explored, by scientific and experienced men, with all the aids which science can supply. Should this investigation prove the Juniata route to be practicable, and preferable under all circumstances to

that of the Potomac, it will no doubt be adopted; and its adoption would be the most fortunate of events for this city: because it would bring the trade of the Susquehanna, with that of the Ohio and the lakes, in one united and mighty stream, into your port. But as yet this practicability, and the preference due to this route if practicable, rest in the number of things that are merely possible; without any knowledge being possessed, by any body, which can authorize the conclusion that they are probable, much less that they exist.

My next observation is, that if this connection be practicable, my learned friend seems to labour under a great mistake about its nature. He seems to suppose that when you have made the great canal to Conewago, and the short connecting one over the mountains, between the Juniata and Connemaugh, you will have accomplished a good water communication between Baltimore and Pittsburg. This he thinks is to be accomplished, by canaling to the extent of an hundred and twenty or thirty miles, and at the expense of about four millions of dollars.

Such a communication might indeed be sufficient, to pass batteaux or canoes, at favourable seasons; but those who have seen the Juniata high up, as I have, will be at no loss to decide how utterly unfit and insufficient it must always be, for the purposes of extensive trade. This river is every where very shallow. Small arks and rafts may float down it in high freshets, and canoes or very light batteaux may ascend it, when the waters are in the most favourable state: but to rely on it for transporting the vast mass of commodities, which must form the basis of the commerce between the east and the west, would argue, I must be permitted to say, very little attention to the subject, and a very superficial view of the nature and extent of the commercial intercourse, which this connection is intended to subserve. Many of you have visited the Bedford Springs, and have crossed the Juniata on the way to them. You recollect what sort of a stream it is at the crossing. You have seen Dunning's Creek, its principal branch, at its junction with the Juniata near Bedford. This creek is the

channel on which reliance is placed, for a very considerable distance, in the communication through what is called the Raystown branch of the Juniata. You can judge how adequate it is to the immense transportation, which the exports and imports of the countries on the Ohio and the lakes would require. The Frankstown branch and its waters, which are supposed to furnish the means of a nearer and better approach to the head waters of the Allegany, are, I understand, not materially different in quantity of water, from the Raystown branch and Dunning's Creek; but their course is less circuitous. They are both utterly insufficient, and unfit, for the purposes of a great internal commerce; however useful they may be in the transportation downwards, by arks and rafts, at the season of freshets. All the same objections apply to the Connemaugh and Allegany: to the latter, I believe, in a still greater degree. If I am rightly informed, for I have never seen the Connemaugh, it is a small and very rapid mountain stream, which it would be impossible to ascend with rafts and arks, for want of water when it is low, and on account of the strength of the current when it is full. Thus it could not be ascended with produce in large quantities, to the summit level, at the only season of the year when the Juniata could be descended; and when batteaux could ascend the Juniata, they would find great difficulty in descending the Connemaugh, for want of water: for every body knows that the streams on the western side of the Allegany, depending much more on rain and melting snow than on permanent springs, are greatly diminished, and many of them almost disappear, in the summer and autumn.

And when you reach the Allegany, your situation is not much better: for that too is a very rapid stream: which it is impossible to ascend with any thing but light batteaux, when the waters are high, and difficult to descend even in that manner, when they are low.

It is therefore manifest, that when these two canals, which are to cost together four millions of dollars, shall be finished, the communication between the Chesapeake and the western waters will be entirely insufficient, if not wholly useless.— Admitting the connecting canal over the mountain to be

fully supplied with water, a point which I repeat rests as yet on conjecture, you have a miserable navigation at each end of it, for a long distance, through shallow and rapid streams, sometimes rendered impracticable by freshets, and sometimes by drought. Depend upon it this notion must be abandoned; and when you think of a connection between Baltimore and the western waters, take it as the basis of your calculation, that a canal must be made through the whole distance. This canal may pass along the valleys, or rather the ravines, of the Juniata the Connemaugh and the Allegany: it may be supplied by their waters, if enough for it can be found on the summit level: but these are all the helps that they can afford. For the purposes of navigation they, like the Potomac and every other mountain stream, in their natural state, are worse than useless. A continuous canal must be made, for one channel of communication with the west, as well as for the other: and for that of the Susquehannah Juniata Connemaugh and Allegany, the canal must be four hundred miles long. This is the distance assumed in the report of the Susquehannah commissioners, for the communication which they hope to effect between Baltimore and Pittsburg, through this channel. An inspection of the map will show that their estimate is not too large. Contrast it with the length of the communication through the District of Columbia and the Potomac, which as we have seen is only three hundred and fifty miles; perhaps not more than three hundred: recollect that both canals must cross the Allegany mountain, at places where it is probably of the same or nearly the same elevation:* that the whole ascent and descent, and consequently the whole quantity of lockage, is the same or nearly the same in each; although they may be more abrupt at the head of the Potomac than at that of Juniata: that consequently the expense, in proportion to the distance, must be as great, or nearly

*As far as the enquiries and observations on the elevation of the Allegany mountain, the principal ridge of the great Appalachian chain, can be relied on, it is of very nearly the same elevation in every part of its course, through Pennsylvania Maryland and Virginia. but its ascent is much more steep and abrupt, in some places than in others.

as great, on one as on the other: that the Potomac canal would be the shortest, by the difference of fifty miles or more; and consequently must be far the least expensive: that one leads directly by the seat of the national government, while the other terminates at the distance of fifty or fifty-five miles from it: reflect on all this, and you can be at no loss to determine which communication, admitting both to be found practicable, is preferable in itself, and likely to be preferred by the national government.

These my fellow-citizens are the points in the argument of my learned friend, which I thought it important to notice. I hope that I have not done it at greater length than was necessary. There are others in which his argument, as I think, is susceptible of refutation; but they are of less moment, and after having already made so free a use of your kind and patient indulgence, I will not detain you longer, and at so late an hour, by remarking on them. My opinions are before you, and those of my learned friend. I well know that mine are not at this moment the most agreeable to your wishes, or the most accordant with your views: but as they were not adopted without much reflection and inquiry, I cannot but feel some reliance on them, and some confidence that you too, after a time, will be convinced of their solidity. May the conviction not come too late!

The question was then taken on Mr. Winchester's resolutions, which were carried by a very great majority. The Chairman proceeded to appoint a committee accordingly, and the meeting adjourned.

THE END.



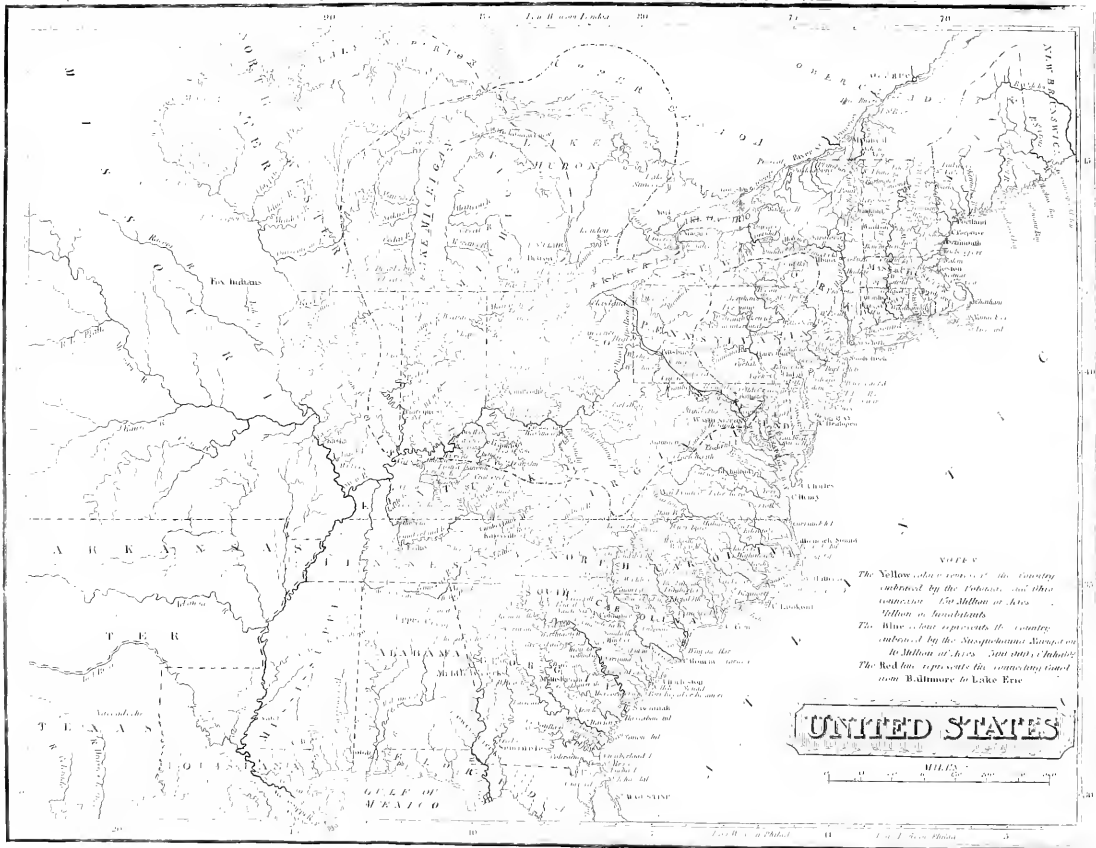
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KEY

- The Yellow color represents the country tributary by the Potomac and other western tributaries to the Atlantic.
- The White color represents the country tributary by the Chesapeake Bay and Delaware to the Atlantic.
- The Blue color represents the country tributary by the Susquehanna River to the Atlantic.
- The Red line represents the connecting channel from Baltimore to Lake Erie.

UNITED STATES







